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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-126
Thursday
30 June 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-126 *30 June 1988*

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Carcani Greets SRV's Do Muoi on Election

AU2606140088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following greetings telegram to Comrade Do Muoi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRV:

On the occasion of your election to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRV, I send you my cordial greetings and wishes for success in your duties. I would like to use this opportunity to express my conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and countries will develop still further.

Tirana Reports End of Sofia Balkan Meeting

AU2406122888 Tirana ATA in English 0950 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Tirana, June 24 (ATA)—The meeting of representatives of the foreign ministries of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Turkey, which examined the proposals on Balkan cooperation, in compliance with the joint communique of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Belgrade, wound up its proceedings in Sofia on June 23.

The meeting approved a protocol, to be presented to the ministers of foreign affairs of the respective countries. It underlines the need of the development and strengthening of the bilateral relations as a very important factor to further promote the multilateral Balkan cooperation.

In compliance with the recommendations made by the foreign ministers in Belgrade to hold in principle periodical meetings, it was proposed that the coming meeting of the foreign ministers be held in 1990. They agreed at the meeting that the other meeting of the representatives of the foreign ministries of the Balkan countries be held in January 1989.

The participants at the meeting exchanged information and views on the preparation of the main following meetings:

-Of the ministers of transport, to be held in Yugoslavia, in November or December 1988.

-Of the meeting to preserve the environment, to be held in Bulgaria in November 1988.

-Of the ministers of economy or foreign trade to be held in Turkey, in the first quarter of 1989.

-Of a meeting on industrial cooperation and transfer of technology to be held in Romania in 1989.

They agreed to hold a meeting of the ministers of energy in Albania in 1990.

Likewise they agreed to set up a working group, which will study all the aspects of creating an economic research Balkan Institute in Athens.

Likewise, many other recommendations were made at the meeting concerning different fields of the Balkan cooperation, which were proposed to be examined later.

It was stressed that the meeting of the top officials of the foreign ministries of the Balkan countries was held in the spirit of the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs held in Belgrade.

Meeting Called 'Constructive Cooperation'

AU2906121688 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 29 Jun 88

["Constructive Contribution to the Strengthening of the Atmosphere of Cooperation and Good Understanding in the Balkans—Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 29 (ATA)—As it is reported also by the press, the meeting of the representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Turkey was held in Sofia, Bulgaria's capital, from June 21 to 23, stresses an article published in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT on June 29. The meeting examined the proposals on the Balkan cooperation to concretize that positive atmosphere created in the Balkans during and after the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs in Belgrade. The spirit in which the meeting in Sofia was conducted, the contributions made and the approved protocol, serve to carry forward the cooperation among the countries of our peninsula.

The delegation of the PSR of Albania went to the meeting of Sofia with the desire and goodwill to render its contribution to the finding of the numerous existing ways to strengthen and concretize the cooperation between the Balkan countries. The creation of a sound atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and friendship in the Balkans constitutes a continuous preoccupation of the PSR of Albania. Our people desire wholeheartedly to live in good neighbourliness with the near countries and peoples, first and foremost.

Our party and government have supported the bilateral and all-Balkan initiatives for the rapprochement and understanding of the peoples of the peninsula. Albania takes part in a series of inter-Balkan activities and associations in the field of physics, seismology, medicine, the protection of environment, etc., where the Albanian scientists make their active contribution. For years now, we take part in various sport activities including the organisation of Balkan championships, as that of weightlifting, volleyball (women), etc. Under the

same spirit there was held few days ago also the meeting of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, where the plan on a series of exchanges in the field of art, culture, folklore, science, the extension of sport cooperation, etc., was discussed and approved.

Naturally, in the complex situation existing in the Balkans it is not easy to attain a sound situation right away, especially for the fact that the egoistic policy of the big powers has left many seeds of quarrels and splits. But the resolutions of the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs in Belgrade, the positive atmosphere created in relations between the Balkan countries after the meeting, the results of the present meeting of the representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs in Sofia, testify to the fact that the will and wisdom is being ripened in the Balkans to overcome these quarrels and splits. The desire to find points of good understanding, to help in clearing up the Balkan environment from any kind of pressure of imperialist influence, to make the peoples more friendly is being witnessed. As far the PSR of Albania is concerned, it has never failed and will not fail to render its contribution to the creation of a wholesome spirit in the Balkans.

The constructive stand of Albania for a healthful atmosphere in the Balkans has been understood and hailed by a series of personalities and from the press of the other countries of the Balkans, as it happened with the stand of our delegation in the Sofia meeting, which was considered as very constructive, the paper writes. The Albanian delegation laid the stress on the fact that the development and consolidation of the bilateral relations is fundamental to carry forward the multilateral cooperation, and it was welcomed. This for the reason that many all-Balkan meetings of the most different levels may be held, but if there is no good understanding and bilateral cooperation, the concrete results will be few.

The participants in the Sofia meeting welcomed also the proposals of the Albanian delegation that the other meeting of the representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries be held in Tirana in January 1989, the meeting of the respective ministers of energy be held in Tirana in 1990, and the meeting of the committees of the Balkan understanding and cooperation or the other respective organizations be held in the second half of 1989. At the same time, the participants in the meeting of the representatives of the foreign affairs ministries in Sofia agreed also on a series of other important activities.

With a number of concrete steps undertaken in the Balkans for the improvement of the bilateral relations and cooperation between different countries, and with the constructive stands of the participating delegations, the Sofia meeting of the representatives of the foreign ministries was a step forward for a more wholesome atmosphere in the Balkans. But it depends a lot on the concrete stand and the will of each participating country to put into life the decisions taken in the meeting, so that the spirit of good understanding and stability in the Balkans be carried ahead, in a new stage. Regarding Albania, it will never spare the efforts in this direction. As Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized in the greeting addressed to meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkans in Belgrade, "The new socialist Albania has been and is interested in particular, that in the Balkans there is peace and good understanding between its peoples, stability, and spirit of cooperation. It considers the policy of good-neighbourliness a constant orientation in the relations with all the Balkan countries," the newspaper concludes.

Border Trade Agreement Signed With SFRY

AU3006082888 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Text] Tirana, June 30 (ATA)--The agreement between the Government of the PSR of Albania and the Federal Executive Council of the Assembly of the SFR of Yugoslavia on the goods exchange in the border areas was signed in Titograd on June 29.

For the Albanian side the agreement was signed by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, and for the Yugoslav side by the federal secretary for economic relations with foreign countries, Nenad Krekic.

Attending the signing ceremony were the federal deputy secretary for economic relations with the foreign countries, Djordje Hadzimihajlovic; the vice chairman of the Executive Council of Montenegro, Dr Branko Kostic; the vice chairman of the committees for relations with the foreign countries of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, the ASR [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo, as well as the members of the two delegations.

Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Belgrade, Kujtim Hysenaj, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFR of Yugoslavia in Tirana, Novak Pribicevic.

In the negotiations conducted the two sides exchanged opinions on the development of trade between the border areas as well as the implementation of protocol on trade exchanges between the two countries for the year 1988.

Upon his stay in Titograd, the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, was received in separate meetings by the head of the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro, Dr Bozina Jovanovic, and the chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of this republic, Vuko Vukadinovic.

In these meetings it was talked on the exchange of goods between the two countries and especially the border areas of Montenegro and Albania.

The delegation returned home on June 29.

Impressions of Geneva International Book Fair
AU2206115388 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 19 Jun 88 p 14

[Ymer Ciraku article: "The Power of the Book"]

[Excerpts] The Geneva International Book Fair, in which our country took part with an exhibition of our latest publications, was opened for the second time on the afternoon of 10 May. The fair took place in one of the halls of the large Palace of Exhibitions (Palexpo) near Geneva Airport, which resounded constantly with the noise of aircraft, whose muted roar penetrated the atmosphere of concentration that pervaded the exhibition. [passage omitted]

Besides our Kosovar brothers who came from different Swiss cantons and from other countries, many visitors, journalists, writers, students, and ordinary book-lovers called at our display, often accompanied by their children, whose features assumed an attractive earnestness under the charm of books. Most of these visitors were to some extent informed about Albania, and a respectful remark was a prelude to every introduction. There was a variety of interests in different books. Sociopolitical books, the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Ramiz Alia, and party documents were in particular demand. In the present era of political chaos and of savage blackmail by the superpowers, the wise and principled words of our party enjoy particular respect. [passage omitted]

The "kingdom of the book" is not a peaceful one. It is torn by a long and deep struggle that began with the very birth of the book. The book struggles against the antibook. There is nothing conventional or contrived about this struggle; it is a direct expression of the struggle of the peoples and of social progress against darkness and violence.

Among the endless theories that reach publication, there is no shortage of speculative thinking, subsidized by firms and religious sects. A young girl with a plaintive voice that was simply a sign of pious, chill asceticism continually offered visitors some little books with extracts from the Bible. "This is for you, sir, for free...." When you carelessly reply in her own language, "I am an atheist," she looks at you as if you were a creature from another planet. [passage omitted]

Nexhmije Hoxha on Culture in Countryside
AU2306134188 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 17 Jun 88 p 1,2

["From" the Report of Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member and chairman of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front, delivered at a meeting of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front in Tirana on 16 June: "Increasing the Role of the Democratic Front in Further Developing Culture in the Countryside"]

[Excerpts] The fifth AWP Central Committee plenum entrusts our Democratic Front organization with a major program of work. During this period, the organizations of the Front, in the towns and the countryside, have carried out discussions and debates, have exchanged and passed on experience, and have organized many mass actions in response to the plenum's decisions. [passage omitted]

Certain new and meaningful holidays have now assumed a place in rural life, such as festivals marking the advent of electricity, water, the first school, harvest-home, and so on. These festivals have become popular holidays; they bring joy, teach people, boost people's optimism and mobilization, bring them closer to each other, and enliven and beautify the village. We should organize these new festivals even better, alongside local and national holidays, so that they achieve their educational purpose. When we organize holidays well, we relax, rest, and learn at the same time; we invest in people's ideological and political culture. [passage omitted]

There are differences, even significant ones, between the level of culture and living standards among different families and villages. Family incomes in villages in Pogradec District are almost the same as those in Puke District, but there is a large difference in the cultural level of these districts. This is also true of the villages of Tirana District, where living standards are lower than in the villages of Gjirokaster District, although real incomes per head are similar. In some districts and areas in particular, one sees that household budgets are not properly managed in a cultured way. In some cases, men, who are usually employed by the state, spend a lot, even on alcohol, at the expense of the food and clothing of other members of the family. Similarly, there is often excess expenditure at weddings or on occasions of tragedy, when no heed is paid to the harm done to the family budget. In the highlands especially, there is still a tendency to build large houses at great expense, but without attention to interior comfort and the necessary furniture. Such issues, however much they may seem "personal matters," must become topics for the Front's persuasive and explanatory work among the people. [passage omitted]

A villager's cultural level is closely tied to his general education. There are now superb educational conditions throughout the country, including its villages. A whole army of young people is acquiring knowledge and culture in an organized way through our educational system. They are being brought up to love work and books, and are being educated into a way of life with more culture. But it is sad to see that a considerable number of village pupils close their books when they complete their schooling, and that when they set out in life, apart from the fact that they can be appointed to jobs and duties appropriate to the level of education they have acquired, they devote themselves purely to the practical side of work, and adapt to the old-fashioned way of life again. Our organizations, especially the youth organization, must keep alive and act upon the slogan, "Where there is youth there is progress."

On the basis of our heritage, and with the great material and human energies that socialism makes available to us, we must make cultural life in the countryside fuller and more lively, involving the masses more. Cultural life must respond better to the demands and interests of the rural population, especially young people. Our political, literary, and academic publications reach the remotest villages, but it must be admitted that there is less reading of books in the countryside. Therefore, books must be both distributed better by the appropriate enterprises, and publicized better by the mass organizations, cultural institutions, and the intelligentsia. The press, radio, television, books, and films have now spread throughout the countryside. For example, 86 percent of families in Kukes District possess a radio, and in the remote region of Iballe in Puke District, one in every four families owns a television. It is therefore no longer simply a matter of the Democratic Front organizing a film, a dance, or a visit to the village by a cultural ensemble, which seemed adequate in years gone by. [passage omitted]

The Democratic Front organizations in the villages have thrown themselves into mass actions to repair and pave roads, build wellheads, drains, and septic tanks, to encourage cleanliness and hygiene in homes and social facilities, and to create conditions for a more active cultural life in the countryside. These mass actions are of great value, and there is scope to extend them further and make them more continuous. It gladdens the heart to see beautiful, new, generally well-kept houses everywhere. But, especially in the highlands and in northeastern districts, more must be done to look after all the rooms inhabited by the family. We stress this because the same attention is still not devoted to the kitchen and bedrooms, and especially bathrooms, as to the room where guests are received. The time has also come to pay greater attention to the care of open spaces around the houses.

Comrade Ramiz Alia said at the fifth AWP Central Committee plenum that "Culture is an attribute of an emancipated person which finds expression in his thinking and labor, in his human relationships and his way of life." Emancipated people are and must be at the fore in the struggle to introduce everything that is new, progressive, revolutionary, and socialist. They must be active combatants against remnants of the old reactionary ideology, and at the same time active combatants against every alien symptom, and all vestiges of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and its influence upon people's way of life. Our organization must also correctly assess what we call "vestiges" or symptoms of religious ideology, which in certain cases arise not only at funerals, but, clad in new garb, in various other rites of religious significance. The return, in however simple a form, of religious practices or practices with religious elements is a sign of the class war. The Democratic Front must therefore not rest in its ideopolitical work of education, explanation, and persuasion. We must work with those who fall prey to these vestiges with tact, patience, and cultivated reasoning, not in sporadic campaigns or only in large meetings, but in daily life. [passage omitted]

Press Deplores Tradition of Arranged Marriages

AU2806121988 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Jun 88 p 3

[Rifat Dajti article: "A River May Sleep, But Backward Customs Do Not"]

[Text] It happened like this: Lina Prekaj, from a remote village in Puke District, broke off her engagement, because she refused to marry Prel Marku from the village of Curraj i Poshtem in Tropoje District, who was 20 years her senior. Outraged by this breach of promise, Prel Marku went to Lina's parents and demanded that they hand over the girl to him. Her parents, wishing to avoid a confrontation, told him that Lina had gone to stay with her aunt in Tuc.

This was enough to send Prel Marku, together with his brother Gjin and the matchmaker Gjovalin Ndoci, to Tuc one dark evening to kidnap Lina. They made sure that there were no men in Mire Smaili's house, took the girl, and dragged her by force to the road, where a car was waiting.

Both Lina and Mire, unable to resist the strength of three men, raised the alarm. The village was roused. The first to arrive on the scene was Pjeter Kola, who at once rose to the young girl's defense. Many others arrived and stopped the kidnappers from completing their ugly work.

The incident testifies clearly to the survival of vestiges of tribal law, which is still active, although in very rare instances. These vestiges did not succeed in destroying Lina's personality, because healthy public opinion now extends to the most remote parts of the country, such as Tuc, where the party's teachings have taken deep root, stoutly defending the dignity of women and girls and ensuring that they are respected and protected. This healthy public opinion rejects everything alien to the standards of our socialist society.

Nevertheless, this incident is highly instructive and reminds one that individual, immature people act in opposition to the rules and laws the people themselves have laid down. Somebody once rightly said that "Backward customs are reminiscent of that fine, old proverb, 'Water sleeps, but the enemy never sleeps.'" The first unpleasant feature of Lina's story was her betrothal at the age of 16, through a matchmaker and against her will. Her own parents and her cousin Gjovalin Ndoci, who played the part of matchmaker, were involved in this. When Lina finished her secondary education, she discovered that a drama was being played out over her head, just as in the days when tribal law held total sway in this area. But she was a mature, educated girl, and could not allow such a thing to happen. She felt that she herself should be the first to fight to protect her own personality and ensure it was respected, and she therefore decided to break off this irregular betrothal that was against her will and heedless of any compatibility of interests and ages.

The second feature was that on the basis of the principle of tribal law, according to which "A man has the right to rule a woman completely," Prel Marku, Gjovalin Ndoci, and Gjin Marku sought to accomplish by force, and even violence, what they could not achieve with the girl's agreement. Problems of this kind are often underrated and people think they have become extinct over the years. But the party warns us against underrating such things. Tribal law customs and other vestiges of the past are still active to a greater or lesser extent among individuals, and we must therefore intensify ideopolitical work against them. We think that the basic party organizations in the village of Curraj i Poshtem in Lekbibaj of Tropoje District, and especially its levers, the Democratic Front, and the youth and women's organizations, must particularly consider that this act was committed by two inhabitants of their village. Such incidents are typical symptoms that are alien to our socialist morality. If these organizations have not hitherto paused to analyze this problem as a whole, this shows that they are clumsy in their work and lacking in the proper political and ideological breadth that would enable them to draw the necessary conclusions.

Such incidents are sometimes underestimated because we think that we have now achieved the necessarily high ideopolitical, cultural, and educational standards in the countryside as well. It is true that these standards are much higher than 3 or 4 decades ago, but the principles of tribal law are such that they crop up whenever we slacken in our work and consider these problems as over and done with. Let us illustrate this by a fact from this recent incident: Prel's young brother, Gjin Marku, who has completed his secondary education, also took part in Lina's abduction. If we considered his educational level alone, we would imagine that this young man would be against the idea of abducting a girl who has broken off an irregular betrothal with a much older man. But he behaved in quite the opposite way, and joined his brother and the matchmaker in enforcing a principle of tribal law.

When we are faced with a case of this kind, the proper conclusion is that we will only be able to say we have entirely uprooted tribal law and its principles when there is not a single case of an arranged marriage among the masses of young men and women, when the burden of backward customs vanishes even in isolated cases, and when there are no more such attempts to kidnap brides.

Quite apart from the fact that this girl's abductors were handed over to the organs of justice, what happened must be a lesson to everybody.

Gorbachev CPSU Conference Speech Praised

AU2906175788 Sofia BTA in English
1726 GMT 29 Jun 88

["Deep Revolutionary Changes"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (BTA commentator Venelin Mitev)—Deep revolutionary changes of historical significance are in progress in the Soviet state: Such is the conclusion which can be drawn as early as the beginning of the 19th CPSU Conference. The goal of the restructuring which has started three years ago becomes ever more prominent: to reveal the humane essence of socialism's constructive power.

This categorical conclusion is based mostly on the report delivered by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev—a comprehensive, thorough and undoubtedly innovatory document, through which the CPSU once again declares that the achievement of restructuring's chief goal is indivisible from the development of democracy and publicity, people's self-government, radical economic reform, from the expression of the creative potential embedded in man's free and all-around development.

Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's report makes a strong impression with the sincerity of the analysis of the first results of the restructuring, the open indication of the mistakes made not only in the past but during the last three years in the work of the party. The report is in the spirit of the democratic atmosphere of the discussion of the theses of the CC of the CPSU for the conference: an atmosphere of creative criticism.

In his speech yesterday, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out clearly that the road to qualitatively new state of the society, to the new type of socialism, passes through the revolutionary restructuring, which means democratization of the life in the ideological, political, economic and social spheres, which means restructuring of the political system.

Mr Gorbachev's report impresses with the number of questions left open so that at the forum, as well as in the press, different opinions can be expressed and finally to choose the most appropriate from all the ideas and proposals. That speaks realistically of the precise understanding of the present situation in the country, understanding that the live reality, the dialectics of social development will contribute with a number of new elements to the present ideas of the roads of socialist transformation, will assist their specification and enrichment.

The 19th CPSU Conference specifies the road of the restructuring, gives new mighty impetus to the revolutionary process of innovation—so that it becomes an irreversible one. In this respect Mikhail Gorbachev's report has a fundamental importance for the future of the Soviet society.

PRAVDA Correspondent on Glasnost, Perestroyka

AU2906201188 [Editorial Report] The weekly Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian Issue No 26 on 27 June 1988 and the Sofia daily NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian on 28 June both carry articles by Leonid Zhmirev, Moscow PRAVDA correspondent in Sofia, on the subjects of glasnost and restructuring in the Soviet Union, devoted to the forthcoming 19th CPSU All-Union Conference.

POGLED carries a 900-word article on page 8, entitled: "Tributaries" which does not identify Zhmirev as PRAVDA correspondent, but subtitles the article: "Reflections of a Soviet Journalist on the Eve of the Conference."

Zhmirev points out that, if asked about the most exciting event in his life, he would answer without any hesitation: "Gorbachev's restructuring." He goes on criticizing the "stagnation of the Brezhnev era" and calls the system of those days "bureaucratic centralism." Referring at length to examples of bureaucracy in the days of the Tsarist regime appearing in Russian literary works from Tolstoy to Chekhov, where types of bureaucrats and ignorant civil servants are described in a satirical manner, the author compares Brezhnev's closest advisers—such as Shchelokov, Churbanov, and Brovinkov— to those types, stressing that they played the role of real "privy councillors" and were even more ignorant than those bureaucrats described in Chekhov's short story, "Promotion Examination" in which the hero is asked to name the tributaries of the River Ganges. Zhmirev goes on to praise Academician Sakharov as a "patriot believing in socialism" and says that in re-reading a document compiled by Sakharov, Roy Medvedev, and V. Turchin 20 years ago he finds a "condensed version of the Theses for the 19th CPSU Conference," adding: "the authors of this document wrote from the position of preserving and strengthening the Soviet socialist system, they submitted a draft on the democratization of society and expansion of glasnost." Zhmirev states: "I repeat that I am talking about a man, who quite recently was accused of "anti-Soviet activities" and labelled as a "slanderer."

Zhmirev further expresses his satisfaction that people like Yuriy Afanasiyev, Vitaliy Korotich, and Tatyana Zaslavska will attend the forthcoming conference, pointing out: "Boris Yeltsin, the one who 'has fallen into disgrace' will be at the conference as well. It is gratifying that the opportunity and right of open discussion is restored in our party life. We all know that the former candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has expressed his own opinion on the rate and scope of restructuring. Many people did not agree with him, they severely criticized him. Nevertheless, it is gratifying that the 'leftist' Yeltsin did not disappear from the scene, but is included in the group of delegates to the 19th CPSU Conference. This would have been impossible until recently."

Zhmirev goes on describing what he would not like about the forthcoming conference, namely that it should be turned into: "a political show with loud applause, chanting of slogans, with drums and children's poems."

In conclusion Zhmirev states that Gorbachev, whom the majority of people views as a "symbol and guarantor of restructuring", "has not fallen from the skies," and is not "alone." He has predecessors and a "team," as well as "champions" who are fighting for restructuring. The author compares them to the "tributaries of the River Ganges," without which the river could not exist.

NARODNA MLADEZH on 28 June carries on pages 1 and 3, an 800-word article by Leonid Zhmirev, who is identified as "PRAVDA correspondent in our country", entitled: "You Should Create Your Own Precedents" in which the author addresses Bulgarian youth with Lenin's words: "Let Us Study, Study, and Keep on Studying!" urging them to "oppose dogmatism" and to struggle for "pluralism of views." He points out the existence of a "dictatorship of precedents" in socialist society under which certain "party aparatchiks" are organizing groups of hired supporters who are supposed to interrupt the speeches of "high-ranking officials" with "stormy and prolonged applause." Zhmirev also criticizes the rituals of engaging young pioneers to beat drums, sing songs and recite poems at party conferences, as well as the so-called "workers pledges and "initiatives" dedicated to party congresses and other events, as unproductive.

Pointing out that "it is not easy," but nevertheless, exciting to be young in the era of restructuring, Zhmirev, on the occasion of the forthcoming 19th CPSU All-Union Conference, wishes Bulgarian youth that they may not rely on outdated traditions, but "create their own precedents."

Leaders Greet Cosmonauts at Arrival 30 Jun

AU3006102188 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Summary from poor reception] A delegation of Bulgarian and Soviet cosmonauts who participated in the joint space flight of the "Mir" orbital research complex arrived in Sofia on board a special Balkan airlines aircraft at approximately 1030 this morning. "The delegation was greeted at Sofia airport by Comrades Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, and Stoyan Markov. The delegation includes the following members: Aleksandr Dunayev, leader of the delegation; Andryan Nikolayev, representative of the cosmonauts training center; Anatoliy Solovyev, commander of the joint Bulgarian-Soviet flight, Engineer Viktor Savinykh, and Bulgarian Researcher Cosmonaut Aleksandur Aleksandrov. They are accompanied by their colleagues of the stand-by crew Vladimir Zakhov, Aleksandr Serebrov, Krasimir Stoyanov, as well as other official Soviet guests. Anatoliy Solovyev, commander of the Bulgarian-Soviet crew, and Cosmonaut Researcher Aleksandur Aleksandrov reported to Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense and chairman of the party and government commission, on the fully successful implementation of the second Bulgarian-Soviet space flight."

The motorcade with the official guests later drove to the 9 September square in the center of Sofia where a festive ceremony was held and numerous Bulgarian citizens welcomed the cosmonauts.

They were also officially greeted by Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee.

Cypriot Communist Delegation on Official Visit

Received by Zhivkov

AU2906184988 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, received the delegation visiting here of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) headed by Mr Dhimitrios Kristofias, secretary general of the CC of AKEL.

The two sides discussed current issues of the international communist and worker's movement, of the international situation. The joint position was expressed that the new realities require the uniting of all progressive and democratic forces for the establishing of a peaceful and just world without nuclear weapons.

Mr Dhimitrios Kristofias informed on the struggle of the Cypriot Communists against the interference of NATO in the internal affairs of the country, against the continuing occupation of the northern part of the peninsula by Turkish armies.

The delegation of AKEL greeted the July Concept of the CC of the BCP for a new model of socialism in Bulgaria, expressed its support for Bulgaria's foreign policy and especially for the idea and efforts for the turning of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

Gratitude was expressed to the BCP and the Bulgarian Government for the principled position and the solidarity with the struggle of the Cypriot people.

The coincidence of the principled positions of the BCP and AKEL on the Cyprus issue was reiterated. The two sides stressed the need for its peaceful, durable and just settlement, respecting the unity and territorial wholeness, the independence and nonalignment of Cyprus. An important impetus to this end would be the holding of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations. In this connection support was expressed for the new initiatives of the Government of Cyprus, and more concretely for the proposals set forth by President Vassiliou at the third session of the United Nations on

June 13 this year for the disbanding of the Cyprus National Guard in exchange for the withdrawal of the Turkish occupational armies and the Turkish settlers.

During the meeting, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the two sides confirmed the mutual desire for further broadening and deepening of the relations and the cooperation between the BCP and AKEL, between the Bulgarian and the Cyprus peoples in the name of peace, democracy and social progress.

Gives Press Statement

AU2906185188 Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 29 Jun 88

["Statement of D. Kristofias"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 29 (BTA)—The Cypriot Communists, the progressive forces in Cyprus support without reserve the restructuring in the USSR.

Before leaving this country Mr Dhimitrios Khristofias, secretary general of the CC of AKEL, assessed the restructuring in the Soviet Union as a revolutionary process, as an irreversible process with great significance not only for the Soviet state but for the whole world as well. Real socialism acquires a new instrument which will make it more attractive on a world-wide scale, he said.

The guest noted the stirring up of the activity in connection with the Cyprus issue due to the new political thinking, to the Greek-Turkish dialogue, to the prospects before the internal Cyprus dialogue, which should start on the initiative of the UN secretary general.

The secretary general of the CC of AKEL stood for the convening of an international conference on the Cyprus issue which should solve the problems of the foreign military bases, of the Turkish occupational armies, of the international guarantees for the independence of the peninsula [as received]. It is necessary to work for the getting closer between the Cypriot Greeks and the Cypriot Turks, for the establishing of preconditions for a peaceful future of the entire Cypriot people.

Mr Dhimitrios Kristofias assessed highly the talks he had with Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, the support of the BCP and the entire Bulgarian people for the peaceful settlement of the Cyprus issue.

Consultations Held With Swedish Foreign Ministry

AU2206182088 Sofia BTA in English 1702 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—The regular political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Sweden were held here on June 20 and 21, this year. On the Bulgarian side the delegation was headed by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and on Swedish side—by Mr Torsten Orn, head of Political Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The two sides discussed in detail a wide range of international issues. They assessed highly the results of the Soviet-American top-level dialogue and stressed its importance for disarmament, as well as for the improvement of the psychological climate in the world, for encouragement and enhancement of East- West relations. Certain aspects of the work of the third special session of the United Nations on disarmament, as well as of the Vienna meeting on security and cooperation in europe were also discussed.

Mr Lyuben Gotsev acquainted the Swedish delegation with the development of the relations between the Balkan states after the Belgrade meeting, and Mr Torsten Orn—with the condition of the problems of security and cooperation in northern Europe.

Certain regional conflicts were also viewed at the consultations.

Assessing the bilateral relations, it was noted that they are undergoing normal development. It was pointed out by the Bulgarian side that the political dialogue should be activated. There are favourable opportunities for broadening of the Bulgaro-Swedish business and cultural contacts. The two delegations expressed their visions and exchanged concrete ideas on the development of the bilateral relations in different spheres.

Mr Torsten Orn was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs.

An agreement for avoiding double taxation between Bulgaria and Sweden was signed.

Regulations Amended on Territorial Waters

AU2906142088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jun 88 p 2

[BTA report: "The Council of Ministers: Amended Regulations"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers and the National Assembly have received a number of warnings and proposals from the public concerning the inappropriateness of some of the established restrictions concerning the use of our territorial waters by citizens for fishing, sports, recreation, and tourism that are contained in the Code for Applying the Law on Territorial Waters.

In this connection, the Council of Ministers has repealed those regulations contained in the Code for Applying the Law on Territorial Waters that create restrictions regarding the registration and the procedure for the handover

of vessels to citizens, painting vessels only in orange, sailing for fishing purposes from one region to another, going far out into territorial waters, and landing on shore.

The relevant organs are ordered to promptly draft a proposal to resolve these issues, which should first be discussed with the coastal municipalities.

Leaders Sign Over Plants for Self-Management

AU2806190888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jun 88 p 6

[Text] Vratsa, 24 June—Today the collective of the Vratsa Technological Combine took over the management and administration of socialist property installations to a total value of 257 million leva. The contract for the handover and acceptance was approved at a meeting of the authorized representatives. It was signed by Stanko Todorov as the authorized representative of the Council of Ministers, and Iliya Iliev, chief director of the combine and authorized representative of the labor collection.

Burgas, 24 June—Today the whole of the vast material and technical facilities of the Burgas Technological Petrochemical Combine was handed over to the basic labor collective for management and administration. The contract was signed by Andrey Lukanov, authorized representative of the Council of Ministers, and Gancho Nedelchev, chairman of the "Neftokhim" Economic Trust and leader of the Burgas Technological Petrochemical Combine.

Sofia, 24 June—On the eve of the professional holiday of the transportation workers, the collective of Balkan Airiines took over the management of basic funds valued at over 322 million leva. The contract was signed by Vasil Tsanov, minister of transportation and authorized representative of the Council of Ministers, and Kostadin Botev, chief director of Balkan Airlines.

Further Reportage on PLO's 'Arafat Visit

Received by Leaders

LD2906163988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received a delegation of the PLO Executive Committee headed by its chairman, Yasir 'Arafat. The two representatives briefed each other on the main tasks of the CPCZ and the PLO in the current period. They also talked about topical questions of the overall international political situation with emphasis on developments in Europe and in the Near East.

Yasir 'Arafat highly praised the Czechoslovak people's support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people. He gave a detailed account of the uprising on the territories occupied by Israel. He stressed the determination of the Palestinians to continue their resistance against the forceful occupation until the legal rights of the Palestinian people are won, including the right to self-determination and setting up an independent state. He also praised the resolution of the Arab summit conference in Algiers which was a significant milestone in forming a joint Arab attitude toward the Palestinian question.

Milos Jakes and Yasir 'Arafat jointly noted that the only realistic way to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict is a speedy convocation of an international conference on the Near East under the auspices of the United Nations and attended by all the interested parties, including Israel and the PLO. In this connection the two representatives stressed the significance of the planned international model conference on the solution of the situation in the Near East.

In conclusion, Milos Jakes assured Yasir 'Arafat of the lasting support of the Communists and the Czechoslovak people for the PLO which is in the vanguard of the people of Palestine in their just struggle.

The Palestinian delegation, headed by Yasir 'Arafat, was also received at Prague Castle by Gustav Husak, president of the Republic. He conveyed to the Palestinian guests our admiration of the heroic uprising which has been waged for 7 months by the Palestinian people on the West Bank and in Gaza against the Israeli occupation, and expressed full support for their just fight. The two statesmen agreed that the basic prerequisite for a lasting solution in the Middle East is the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and giving the Palestinian people the right of self-determination, including that of creating an independent state.

Yasir 'Arafat pointed to the links between peace in Europe and in the Middle East and in this connection supported the Czechoslovak initiatives and the initiative of the other socialist countries directed at easing tension in Europe. This would also influence the situation in the Middle East.

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, also received Yasir 'Arafat and the delegation of the PLO Executive Committee. The two representatives analyzed in detail the problems of mutual cooperation betwen Czechoslovakia and the PLO and specific forms of Czechoslovak assistance to the PLO in implementing the just aims and demands of the people of Palestine.

Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, then ended the official friendly visit and left Czechoslovakia.

'Arafat Dinner Speech

JN2906194088 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1612 GMT 29 Jun 88

["Text" of speech by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat at a dinner banquet hosted in his honor by the Czecholsovak National Front Presidium in Prague; dated not given— read by announcer]

[Text] Dear Comrades: It pleases me, in my name and on behalf of my brothers, the PLO Executive Committee members, and also on behalf of our Palestinian Arab people, to extend deep thanks to you for the hospitality and warm welcome accorded to us and for the warm welcoming statements with which we were welcomed in your beautiful and golden capital, Prague, which entered our contemporary history, as it embraced the various inter-Palestinian meetings and dialogues which were crowned with convening the 18th PNC session. It also pleases me to be among faithful friends in the friendly CSSR, which is highly valued and appreciated by our Palestinian people because of the firm and principled stands it has been demonstrating in support of our just cause and our national struggle which is being waged for the sake of realizing our Palestinian people's inalienable national rights.

We meet today, as our valiant Palestinian people's uprising entered its 7th month, displaying a continuous popular memento bolstered by the momentum of our tireless national struggle. This uprising also demonstratesg a determination to continue until its objectives of freedom and independence are achieved. At present, this uprising is entering a new phase leading to the comprehensive civil disobedience.

As you know, dear comrades, our people's uprising has managed to place new realities before the entire world. All of these new realities pushed the Palestine question and the Middle East conflict to the forefront of hot regional issues. All peace-loving nations and forces must exert their best efforts to find a just solution to this question, as finding such a solution would quash a dangerous hotbed of international tension which directly affects world peace and stability. As you know, dear comrades, the PLO has continued to warn quarters against the consequences of the continuation of the Zionist occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories, as

this occupation entails cruel suffering of our people and nation. Furthermore, this occupation also poses direct and daily threats regarding the breeding of further bloodletting and the creation of tension in the region, especially when we know that the Untied States has contineud to offer unlimited support for this occupation. Nay, the United States is providing this occupation with political, military, and moral support, thereby tangibly embodying its policy, which does not seek to achieve just peace. With its provision of such support, the United States is also arbitrarily demonstrating a failure to recognize the objective conditions and genuine bases of this peace, considering the Israeli interests the centerpiece of its policy and moves, and at the same time ignoring the crux of the conflict, which is the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights.

Growing support is being voiced for these rights, the realization of which is being viewed as a basis for any serious peace effort. Hence, dear comrade, the PLO reaffirms again that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is only achievable through the formula that has enjoyed unanimous approval by the overwhelming majority of the world states; namely, the formula of the effective international conference, which must be held under UN auspices and with effective prticipation by the five permanent member states of the UN Security Council, as well as the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, which must attend the conference on equal footing and enjoy rights equal to those enjoyed by the other concerned parties.

Out of our adherence to the principles enshrined in the resolutions passed by the international legitimacy, according to which the conference must be held, we would like to state that the principle of inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is the right to self-determination, is one of the basic principles that should govern the works of the conference if it is really sought to reach balanced solutions that provide peace and stability in the region in a manner that guarantees the interests of all parties, including the interests and security of our Palestinian people, who should enjoy the rights to self-determination, and also to establishing their independent state on their national soil, with Jerusalem as its capital. These things have been stressed by the Algiers Arab summit resolutions, which voiced the greatest possible support for our people and their blessed uprising and also for their national rights under the PLO, the leader of their legitimate struggle and their sole representative. These resolutions constituted a clear reply to all the plans and initiatives that deny our people their right to self-determination and the PLO's right to represent them.

It is painful that our camps in Beirut, especially Shatila, become subjected at this decisive stage to a new ordeal and attacks, shelling, siege, and destruction which have been continuing for 6 years. We have repeatedly explained our extreme eagerness about not being dragged into any side battles with any Arab side and about entrenching the slogan of uniting all Arab forces.

The only objective of these battles is to strike at the splendid popular uprising of our masses in the occupied land. These battles are also aimed at liquidating the Palestinian presence in Lebanon and striking at the Palestinian resistance in southern Lebanon, which, along with its Lebanese allies, confront the Israeli occupation and aggression against the camps, cities, and villages in heroic southern Lebanon. Those battles affirm at the same time that our people will continue struggle [words indistinct] regardless of the intensive plots and heavy sacrifices.

Dear Comrade Travnicek, we are certainly confident about friendly Czechoslovakia's support for our stand, which is a common denominator with the sincere Czecholsovakian trends toward peace as expressed through your peaceful initiative which calls for a region of trust, cooperation, and relations of good neighborliness along the line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states.

I gladly take the opportunity of our presence here to express the PLO's support for your constructive initiative. We also affirm support for the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, especially the initiatives announced by Comrade Gorbachev concerning the limitation of nuclear weapons and the Moscow superpower summit's results. We, along with you and all the forces of peace and progress in the world, will seek to realize these initiatives in the interest of mankind's security, peace, and social progress. We also support the resoluteness of your initiatives and continued calls for resolving regional disputes. We cannot hide our anxiety toward the continuation of the Iraq-Iran war. We reiterate our warning against the dangers of the continuation of this war and its destructive prospects. Therefore, along with our great appreciation for Iraq's continued peaceful trends and initiatives, we believe that the immediate and full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No 598 is the real and actual beginning for putting an end to this war.

Dear comrades, our people's uprising in the occupied territories and its great and escalating continuation despite all U.S. maneuvers has opened wide horizons for a just, durable peace. This makes us full of confidence about the future, which we look forward to with all optimism and confidence until peace and security prevail in our region and the world.

Dear Comrade Travnicek, dear Comrade Vasil Bilak, our Palestinian people find in Czechoslovakia a sincere and firm ally along with all the socialist bloc countries, headed by the Soviet Union, as well as all peace-loving

forces in the world, including the democratic and progressive forces and the Jewish forces of peace inside and outside Israel which support our people's rights and stand against the Israelis' fascist crimes against our people.

Comrades, allow me to wish you in person continued health and successes and your friendly people, progress and prosperity.

Deputies Discuss Human Rights, Disarmament

LD2906090488 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Washington June 28 (CTK correspondent)— A delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, led by Deputy Chairman Bohuslav Kucera, was received here today by Chairman of the American Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe Steny Hoyer.

The two sides agreed on the usefulness of mutual visits by the two countries' parliamentary delegations leading to better understanding in all spheres.

Members of the U.S. commission stressed the need for a well-balanced document to be worked out at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting and recalled the problems of human rights, claiming that this issue cannot be separated from economic and military problems of the all-European process. They called for a strict observance of commitments of the CSCE participants, especially in the humanitarian sphere.

Discussing human rights in Czechoslovakia and the USA, the American side expressed its reservations towards the policy of Czechoslovakia, especially as regards the churches.

The Czechoslovak deputies rejected the one-sided U.S. approach to the situation of human rights in Czechoslovakia and pointed to the cases of gross violation of fundamental human rights in the USA as well as to the fact that the USA has not so far ratified international pacts on human rights. They explained in detail the Czechoslovak state policy as regards churches and pointed to its interest to solve the existing problems with the Vatican concerning the appointment of new bishops in Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak deputies pointed to certain significant proposals submitted by Czechoslovakia and the other socialist states for arms reduction and improvement of the climate in Europe and the world.

Later in the day the Czechoslovak deputies were received by the Republican Party top representative in the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee John Warner.

John Warner stressed the significant role played by Czechoslovakia and other small and medium countries in Europe in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations.

The Czechoslovak deputies pointed to the Czechoslovak peace proposals aimed at reducing the danger of armed conflicts between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, especially the one aimed at the establishment of a zone of confidence and cooperation on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states and the Czechoslovak-GDR proposal for the creation of nuclear- and chemical-free zones in Europe.

The Czechoslovak deputies expressed concern over the efforts of the NATO countries to substitute medium- and shorter-range missiles with more sophisticated weapons.

Further Reportage on Austria's Vranitzky Visit

Discusses Bilateral Relations

AU2806134488 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 28 Jun 88 p 1

[Jacquline Thalberg dispatch from Prague: "Quite a Bit of Progress"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday Chancellor Franz Vranitzky continued his official visit to the CSSR, which had started on Sunday [26 June], with political talks in Prague.

Neighborhood policy between Austria and the CSSR is to be intensified and raised to a qualitatively higher level. This includes easing procedures at the borders, the signing of a cultural agreement, specific economic agreements, and the expansion of the agreement on information on nuclear power plants. The talk with CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal took place in an extremely cooperative climate, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky reported after yesterday's meeting in Prague.

Among other things, it is to be considered to expand the issuing of visas at the border checkpoints also to travel by boat and train, the chancellor said. Furthermore, Austria pushes for a quicker train connection. Vranitzky said that with regard to the fields of economy and the environment Strougal told him that the CSSR has problems especially with flue gas desulphurization. In this connection, the firms Semmering-Graz-Pauker and VOEST are to make offers for corresponding desulphurization facilities.

In the field of the environment and nuclear power plants, the existing agreement, which envisages an exchange of information, is to be expanded "beyond providing information," Vranitzky explained. In addition, the treaty that has already been signed is to be expanded to future CSSR nuclear power plants.

Vranitzky pointed out, however, that the process of discussions with the CSSR on nuclear power plants will not be simple because there are "the great barriers of the sovereignty" of the country—anyway, the goal cannot be reached immediately. In general, the CSSR side agreed to cooperate with Austria in surveys of nuclear power plants and to provide timely information on potential problems.

Concerning joint ventures, a "new start" is to be made, Vranitzky continued. The elimination of trade obstacles (customs barriers and visas) is also being worked for. In addition, an investment protection agreement is planned.

With regard to cultural exchanges, a cultural agreement is to be signed. Some question, however, have still to be cleared up by the end of July. Cultural institutes will be opened in Prague and Vienna.

The chancellor also stressed the importance of regional contacts; for this reason, Provincial Governors Ratzenboeck (Upper Austria), Zilk (Vienna), and Sipoetz (Burgenland) and Lower Austrian Deputy Governor Proell had separate talks with CSSR experts.

All in all, CSSR head of government Strougal expressed the wish to institutionalize the contacts with Austria on the level of the heads of governments. These contacts are a political priority for the CSSR, Strougal assured Vranitzky.

The chancellor reported on the topic of the CSCE that the CSSR supports Austria's candidacy as a future host country.

Vranitzky said that Environment Minister Marilies Flemming, who accompanying him, will broach the topic of environmental damage in Austria that is partly caused by the neighboring countries and will try to achieve an intensification of the dialogue on environmental protection.

After his talk with Strougal, Vranitzky was received by CSSR party chief Milos Jakes. At the beginning of the talk, Jakes asked the chancellor whether he was satisfied with his negotiations with Strougal. Vranitzky said that "quite a bit of progress had been made and if I also add the atmosphere, then one has to call the talks above average." Jakes expressed his pleasure about this assessment and stated that now the contacts will be intensified in all fields. Subsequently Vranitzky was received for a courtesy visit by State President Gustav Husak.

At the banquet in the evening, the chancellor stressed that the preconditions for deepening the relations between Vienna and Prague are very favorable at present. Premier Strougal stressed that it is the task of the governments of the two countries to create an appropriate political climate and to "actively intervene in favor of coexistence at the common border so that it will become a border of peace forever."

Today Vranitzky will visit the Theresienstadt concentration camp and will then go to Bratislava, from where he will return to Vienna in the evening.

In his speech at the Charles University in Prague—this is the oldest university in this part of Europe—Vranitzky yesterday also discussed Austria's approach to the EC.

Austria still considers the EFTA forum as an obligation to practice understanding with the other neutral states. After talks with the heads of governments of the neutral countries in Europe he, Vranitzky, notes that Austria does not lose anything if it states its willingness to "restructure the domestic market, even to the extent of joining the EC, which has not yet been decided."

In addition, all neutral states are working on their position in the EC, not only Austria. In any case, a broad consensus has to be maintained with regard to this question in Austria, said the chancellor, whose speech was held under the motto: "Austria in the Europe of Today."

Discusses Joint Environmental Projects

AU2806112088 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 28 Jun 88 p 2

[Kurt Seinitz report from Prague: "Austria Willing To Prefinance CSSR Environmental Protection?"]

[Excerpt] Prague—Environmental protection and nuclear power are becoming one of the main topics of the official Austrian visit to the CSSR. In this respect concepts have emerged that are already being considered by the FRG with regard to the GDR: the prefinancing of environmental protection measures in the East.

Austria could, for instance, offer high-capacity filtering equipment. Said Chancellor Vranitzky to NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG: "In this connection, we would certainly be willing to consider favorable financing packages. International studies prove that Austria is burdened with the import of pollutants."

On the topic of nuclear power Vranitzky noted that the Austrian Government has to proceed from the fact that it cannot make any of the neighboring countries abstain from their nuclear power policy. But Austria will not stop trying to influence them, warning of the risks, and demanding maximum security.

For this purpose, the chancellor has brought along his environment minister, Flemming. Said Flemming to her CSSR partners in the talks: "We feel endangered!" Jiri Beranek, head of the CSSR Nuclear Energy Commission, told NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG about the lessons

learned by the CSSR from Chernobyl: "In Chernobyl, it was above all the human factor that failed. Therefore, we have raised the quality of the training of our personnel to the maximum. Our program of expansion will, however, not be changed. The future reactors, starting with that of Temelin, will be equipped with a containment shield. At some time in the future, nuclear power is to completely replace power produced with coal. We are no longer building any new coal-fired power plants." [passage omitted]

Comments on Talks

AU2806142988 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Interview with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky by Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi and Raimund Loew in Prague on 28 June "immediately after an unusually long private talk with Premier Strougal"]

[Text] [Vranitzky] We [Strougal and Vranitzky] again discussed the matter of nuclear power plants and agreed that the existing treaty between the CSSR and Austria will be expanded so as to be applicable not only for one or several specific power plants but for all nuclear power plants that will be constructed and put into operation in the CSSR. Second, we agreed that the CSSR will accept my proposal to have Austrian scientists and engineers meet with CSSR experts in order to cooperate in the construction, technology, and practical work of nuclear power plants, for instance, by using modern computer programs to report potential damage in case of accidents, and to thus cooperate in such a way that we have more than just information to counter reservations in Austria.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] How would you briefly summarize the results of this meeting in general?

[Vranitzky] Let me broach one more subject. I also confronted Premier Strougal with the fact that we in Austria have a very, very positive attitude toward the CSSR—toward our neighbor and our economic partner CSSR—but that the Austrian people do have reservations toward our neighbor with regard to the treatment of human rights and that the Vienna CSCE follow-up conference could be considered a good chance for the CSSR to provide some stimuli, in particular in the field of human rights. Strougal accepted these remarks with great sincerity and with great willingness to discuss this subject. I do not exclude the possibility that the CSSR delegation in Vienna might become active in this respect.

[Loew] Mr Chancellor, in the past there were repeated spells of thaw in the relations between the CSSR and Austria and then there were setbacks again. Do you think that the problems that strained the relations have now been eliminated for good?

[Vranitzky] The term thaw could only be applied if there had been ice and frost before, but this was not the case, not even in the broadest sense of the words. Now it is necessary—and I use Strougal's words—to raise the relations to a qualitatively higher level. I think that this will be possible. Of course, I do not predict any setbacks. If there are any, one will have to face them and tackle them and try to set things right as soon as possible.

[Loew] In conclusion, have your expectations with regard to this visit been fulfilled?

[Vranitzky] My expectations have been fulfilled because I proceed from the premise—and after this visit I feel encouraged in this opinion—that we have very good, very profound relations with all our neighboring states. I do not understand in any way that there should be any reason for this not being the case with the CSSR. I have set myself this as a goal and a task—also in a personal sense—and I know that I agree in this respect with a great number of Austrians. In this view, I consider this visit as having had positive results.

Further Reportage on UK's Mellor's Visit

Meets With Bilak

AU2906110688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jun 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak-British Negotiations; V. Bilak and B. Chnoupek Conduct Talks With D. Mellor"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, received David Mellor, minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in Prague on Thursday [23 June]. During their meeting they assessed certain topical international issues and questions of mutual relations.

The reception was attended by Jaromir Johanes, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; by Jan Fidler, CSSR ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; and by John Malcolm MacGregor, charge d'affaires ad interim at the British Embassy in Prague. [passage omitted]

D. Mellor concluded his visit to the CSSR the same day.

'Preacher' to Prague Press

AU2906103388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jun 88 p 7

[Milos Krejci report: "Somewhat in the Role of Preacher; Press Conference at the British Embassy"]

[Text] Prague (By our reporter)— David Mellor, minister of state (acting as vice - minister) for foreign and commonwealth affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, met domestic and foreign

journalists at the British Embassy in Prague on Thursday [23 June]. He briefed them on the negotiations he had been conducting with Czechoslovak representatives on matters concerning bilateral relations and on certain problems of the present international situation.

He found certain progress in East - West relations, as was shown by the USSR - U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and by the continuing negotiations on a reduction of strategic arms. But this guest did not spar a single word to mention whether the British Government would join the nuclear disarmament talks (although it, too, possesses nuclear arms)— and if so, in what way.

Some of his other statements at the press conference showed that he wanted to play the role of preacher, pontificating on human rights as the British understand them. Even his opening words made it clear that his main interest lay with some alleged violations of human rights in Czechoslovakia; his criticism was directed at the Czechoslovak authorities and their attitude toward certain actions of so-called Charter 77 followers. He even expressed his dissatisfaction with the progress of restructuring and with the flow of information to the general public in the CSSR. He continued his sermon in this spirit, handing out marks for our government's conduct and referring to the fulfillment of the Helsinki Final Act. It is known that this document— which contains the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other states— was also signed by a British representative.

When the Czechoslovak journalists asked him about the situation in Northern Ireland, about the police firing on unarmed civilians, the minister replied in a derogatory manner that the civilians concerned were mostly "terrorists." According to the information provided by Hansard (the official British parliamentary report) for 7 March, a total of 93 people (66 of them civilians, 11 army members, and 16 policemen) lost their lives in the area in 1987 alone; in the same period 780 civilians were wounded, and 1,523 houses searched. Since the beginning of 1988, 28 people have lost their lives there.

However, it was gratifying to hear with what enthusiasm the minister spoke of Leos Janacek's music, and of having been able to find the time to visit the Janacek Museum in Brno.

Jakes Addresses Science Academy Session

LD2706185288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, took part in Prague today in the session of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Presidium which discussed the implementation of the conclusions of the fifth, seventh, and ninth sessions of the party Central Committee on the conditions of the academy.

Academician Josef Riman, chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, reported on the results achieved in scientific research for the first 2 years of the Eighth Five-Year Plan and stressed that the implementation of the restructuring principles in the academy means primarily promoting new attitudes toward primary research.

Comrade Milos Jakes praised the academy's results in the past period, their correct orientation and contribution to the advancement of socialist society. He described as a key factor the utilization of scientific findings in practice. We have to consider carefully, however, what we can afford with regard to the economy. In science too international labor division among the socialist countries must be promoted.

Milos Jakes added that the party sees in science an important force on which it must rely in realizing the aims of restructuring. The strength of socialism is in its link with scientific-technical revolution and in the rate of implementation of scientific-technological findings.

Comrade Milos Jakes also spoke about the training of young scientific workers, material supply to scientific work places, in particular providing them with modern equipment and other instruments, and creating general conditions for the creative scientific work of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the higher institutions of learning.

Matejka Holds News Conference on Restructuring

AU2906084588 Prague PRACE in Czech 24 Jun 88 pp 1,3

["hj, pa"-signed report: "Restructuring Is Coming Into Effect; From a Press Conference at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium"]

[Text] Yesterday the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium organized a press conference on the [government] resolution on the establishment of state enterprises as of 1 July this year. Jaromir Matejka, deputy minister and secretary of the Government Committee for Planned National Economic Management, provided journalists with information on the first stage of the organizational restructuring of the production, scientific-research, and circulation base.

This first stage comprises the conversion of roughly 30 percent of our production-technical base into state enterprises; a total of 412 state enterprises will be established effective 1 July 1988. This number does not include branches that are administered by national committees, within which only a very small part of the organizations is meanwhile being converted into state enterprises. The government has charged the relevant heads of central agencies with setting up the approved state enterprises, including their start-up assets, entry in the company register, and everything connected with this. It has also determined the further course of the conduct of business

of organizations that are to be converted into state enterprises as of 1 July. Organizations involved in the experiment [in enhancing independence and responsibility for efficient development] that are being converted into state enterprises will continue to implement the approved experiments. Organizations which, until now, have not taken part in the experiment will institute the necessary changes in their financial management that follow from the law on state enterprises and can be applied as of 1 July. This concerns, for instance, partial changes in generating and distributing profits or the introduction of a development fund (that is, a common fund for technical development and investments; experimenting organizations had already merged these two funds). These changes are spelled out in a separate supplement to the government resolution.

As Comrade J. Matejka pointed out, the government noted that in submitting and discussing proposals for establishing state enterprises and processing the respective projects for organizational restructuring, individual branch ministries did not always consistently abide by the principles set out at the beginning of the year in government resolution No. 40. The government is therefore drawing attention to the importance of fully complying with these principles, including amendments to them, in the further course of work and of enforcing the set democratic principles that should govern the submission of proposals for establishing state enterprises and the consultation of these proposals with submitting organizations. It stresses that these principles of organizational restructuring proceed from the conclusions of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee and that they were separately discussed in the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. The government has charged central bodies with the task of finalizing projects for the organizational restructuring of organizations that fall within their jurisdiction and it has also set out the further timetable for implementing organizational restructuring—further organizational changes should take effect on 1 January, 1 April, and, in particular, 1 July next year.

The conversion of roughly 30 percent of organizations into state enterprises by the first deadline, in a complicated period in which we had extremely little time for this undertaking and in which organizations and agencies were gradually acquainting themselves with the premises and principles of restructuring, is essentially a reasonable achievement, because a whole year is still ahead of us, J. Matejka said. The government resolution, including its supplements (which contain the list of state enterprises [approved by the government], amendments to government resolution No. 40/1988, and the course of action to be taken by state enterprises that are not involved in the experiment), will be published in a suitable form.

Comrade Matejka then replied to journalists' questions. He conceded, among other things, that the impression may arise that the conversion of 30 percent of organizations into state enterprises in the first stage is too little. However, to forestall mistakes as much as possible, the government did not want to take decisions on cases that have not been finally resolved, are disputed, or have not been sufficiently analyzed. After all, the process of restructuring does not end by some designated date. The government accepted proposals that have been sufficiently analyzed and on which there are no disputes along the vertical axis of management; simply, it accepted proposals for the establishment of state enterprises on which there was a high degree of unanimity. The government availed itself of the branch ministries' entire projects, not just those prepared for 1 July 1988, but also those for the later deadlines. Its criticism of the branch ministries' course of action thus applies to their projects in their entirety.

From Other Questions and Answers [subhead]

[Question] Has some proposal for a state enterprise been accepted against the will of the ministry? Does an enterprise, in fact, stand a chance of becoming independent against the will of the founder—the ministry or some other superior agency?

[Matejka] Such an enterprise cannot come into being; this follows clearly from the law on state enterprises. Another thing is that when these issues are discussed in the government, in government committees, and elsewhere, views may clash and the ministry may finally acknowledge the justification of independence. It is simply necessary to arrive at unanimity of views on the basis of businesslike argumentation. All such disputed cases were put off in the first stage. The issue facing us in the next stage will be to consistently comply with the adopted principles—including the amendments to these principles that form part of the latest government resolution. What matters is not just a consistent approach by the general directorates. Enterprises, government committees, as well as ministries are working on these issues and representatives of party, trade union, and other agencies are also taking an active part in them.

[Question] What is the structure of the new state enterprises? Do mammoth enterprises, formed out of what have until now been economic production units, not prevail?

[Matejka] There are now some 1,714 organizations of the enterprise type in Czechoslovakia, excluding the sphere that is administered by national committees. The founding of 412 enterprises in the first stage solves the future of 680 of these organizations because in some cases organizations of the enterprise type are being merged into a single state enterprise.

[Question] Do you have an idea about the average size of these new state enterprises? What is the ratio of small and large enterprises?

[Matejka] We have not yet assessed the matter from this point of view in the first stage because the second stage will be somewhat different in nature and this ratio will evidently change a great deal. We estimate, however, that the average size of state enterprises approved thus far is around 6,000 employees. This indicator should decline in the subsequent stages, however; the ultimate overall average size can be estimated at 3,000 employees. The first stage has been influenced by the fact that in the sector of fuels, for instance, a number of economic production units are being converted into state enterprises; the same is true of some additional classical economic production units, such as Skoda Plzen. In all these cases such a conversion is warranted from the viewpoint of production programs. The solution for the entire sphere that is administered by national committees, on the other hand, is yet to come, in fact. The restructuring of this sphere should find its expression in a pronounced decline in the average size of enterprises in terms of the size of their labor force.

[Question] In view of such a concentration occurring, is the concern not justified that one of the principles of the reform—entrepreneurial spirit and competition—may not be respected?

[Matejka] The question of competition depends on many conditions. In the sphere in which we are interested in maximum competitiveness, that is, in the consumer goods industry, virtually all current national or concern enterprises will as a rule become independent. We must also realize that even the large entities will be under the pressure of foreign competitors and of competition on international markets.

[Question] How many enterprises will cease to exist in the first stage?

[Matejka] A total of 270 organizations of the enterprise type—that is, concern enterprises, national enterprises, or organizations having the same status—will cease to exist effective 1 July. They will not become extinct in the physical sense, but will be merged with another organization and will thus lose the status of a legal person. Of course, it is necessary to realize the different status of national and concern enterprises, as even now the latter do not have the full-fledged status of a legal person.

[Question] Will the liquidation of some enterprises not also result in the demise of their good traditions or in the endangering of their protected trademarks?

[Matejka] This matter was also discussed in connection with the parliamentary debate on the law on state enterprises. Use will be made of solutions that will preserve these protected trademarks so as to forestall commercial losses. In extreme cases it will be necessary to change the entry [in the company register] in order to comply with valid agreements. We are creating conditions for the preservation of protected trademarks by asserting the principle that traditional enterprises such as breweries, Moser, CKD, Skoda, and others should become independent enterprises.

[Question] Why are even those organizations being converted into state enterprises which have until now operated at a loss?

[Matejka] It is impossible to set the strict rule that loss-making enterprises will not be converted into state enterprises. It is true that by changing organizational structures we want to create conditions for enterprises to be efficient, but this simply cannot be done in all cases. I will cite an example. Even though a state farm, for instance, operates at a loss, one has no choice but to convert it into a state enterprise. At the same time it is necessary, of course, to seek ways of getting such a state farm out of the red. Or another example. Enterprises manufacturing prefabricated silicate elements operate at a loss. On the other hand we have many building organizations whose operations are relatively cost-efficient. That is why manufacturers of silicate building materials have been attached to building organizations, in union with which they stand better chances of prospering and reaching the requisite level of efficiency. In other words, we proceed individually and do not rule out that even such a unit can become independent that will after some time come in for a consolidation program. The right to propose independence or merger arises from the generally accepted law on state enterprises. This right is not restricted to the current stage. This means that even after the completion of the organizational restructuring, essentially every structural unit can ask for its independence, provided that it has enough arguments.

[Question] In which respects was the procedure of the proposers inconsistent?

[Matejka] The principle that state enterprises should be primarily formed out of today's national, sectoral, or concern enterprises was not always fully respected in some cases. Little use was made of the principle that state enterprises should be formed especially in cases of independent, specialized production programs. Insufficient use was also made of the principle of integration in a combine. Especially those economic organizations should be integrated that maintain a high level of close mutual cooperation, within the research-production-trade—foreign trade cycle, for instance. The sectoral approach was also overrated in some cases; this found its expression in the endeavor to merge organizations working in the same sector, regardless of whether they have, or do not have, a specialized production profile. A typical example of shortcomings was the overrating of some common activities of enterprises; these activities were then cited as the reason for merging organizations into a large entity. In other words, inadequate use was made of various forms of association permitting the existence of independent enterprises while providing for the solution of designated activities in the form of a consortium, joint stock company, and so forth. But the

opposite approach can be mentioned as well. This is the case of the Prago-Union economic production unit, for example, which is being completely subdivided into individual state enterprises. Some of them intend to voluntarily establish a joint stock company that would carry out for them certain common activities, such as commercial services, computing, research, and the like.

[Question] Did the proposals for the establishment of state enterprises take account of future changes in the structure of our national economy?

[Matejka] Many proposals put forward by enterprises as well as those by branch ministries were accompanied by certain ideas about the future production program. The utilization of this factor was insufficient, however. We must realize that, as a one-time operation, the organizational restructuring of the production base cannot definitely solve the organizational structures of production in the long run. This structure will undergo changes even after the establishment of state enterprises, in connection with measures adopted by us within the framework of our involvement in the international division of labor, for example, in connection with the CEMA states' coordination of plans for the next 5-year plan, or in connection with our involvement in the CEMA countries' program for scientific and technical progress through the year 2000. However, on the other hand one cannot agree with the view that the organizational restructuring is only some passive act, primarily because it is designed to create the basic prerequisite for the conversion of our organizations into state enterprises, that is, the prerequisite for a high degree of their independence, responsibility, and powers, but also for their entrepreneurial spirit. Our experiences from the whole process bear out that the organizational restructuring has triggered a high degree of initiative on the part of the enterprise economic sphere. Enterprises that "have it in them" have simply been prompted to become clear about their future program and also to clarify their ideas on how to fulfill or overfulfill the tasks of this 5-year plan.

[Question] Have all organizations involved in the experiment become state enterprises?

[Matejka] The fact that one organization or another joined the experiment has not predetermined its future organizational structure in the sense that it would become a state enterprise in the form in which it joined the experiment. A considerable part of experimenting organizations will, of course, become state enterprises. Their system is closer to the requirements on the operation of state enterprises than is the case in organizations that do not take part in the experiment. We strive to achieve that, as far as possible, experimenting organizations that become state enterprises retain the conditions that were approved for them [when they joined the experiment]. But it is obvious that it will not be possible to retain them completely. The new wholesale prices that will come into effect on 1 January 1989, for example, will apply to all organizations and they will have certain consequences for the generation of these organizations' resources. However, we definitely do not want to take the path of depriving experimenting organizations of resources which they have accumulated within the framework of the experiment.

[Question] Will there be cadre changes in the new state enterprises?

[Matejka] Effective 1 July, the section of the law on state enterprises concerning self-management will become fully operative in all of them. From this it follows that within 4 months after their founding they should carry out elections of self-management bodies.

Need for a More Rational Atmosphere [subhead]

Miroslav Pavel, head of the press and documentation section at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium, also spoke at the close of the discussion. Speaking on the government session on the problems under debate he said that it noted the existence of tendencies to merely "paint over the company nameplates." If the government succumbed to them, one of the basic prerequisites for the successful functioning of the new economic mechanism would not be fulfilled as the relationship of individual structural units toward the overall economic climate would be obfuscated. Once again, just like under the old system of management, there would be redistribution processes within economic production units and we would not know the actual economic performance of each production unit.

The government session noted, furthermore, that this first stage of restructuring the production-technical base was lacking in a rational atmosphere in processing and submitting proposals for new state enterprises. A number of subjective approaches also made themselves felt. The branch ministries submitted to the government only a minimum number of enterprises' individual proposals, which the government described as an expressly negative phenomenon. Central bodies must play a far more active role in this respect, they must give their support to the emergence of such individual proposals and to their rational processing. The government stressed the great political significance of this whole matter because it is according to even the partial results of restructuring that the working people will approach further requirements of the economic reform.

Defense Minister Vaclavik Interviewed on TV

AU2706090488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jun 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Government Members in Front of Television Cameras; Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR Minister of National Defense: Our Primary Mission— To Defend Our Fatherland"]

[Text] On Wednesday [22 June] evening Czechoslovak Television transmitted another installment of its series of talks with our federal government members; this time the questions were answered by Comrade Milan Vaclavik.

He began by saying that the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) is devoting considerable attention to the restructuring of our economic mechanism and the intensified democratization of life. From the viewpoint of demands formulated by the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions, the range of tasks primarily connected with the quality of work is fully applicable to the CSLA. Restructuring in the Army is primarily aimed at removing all the negative phenomena preventing more consistent enforcement of the military policy set by the 17th CPCZ Congress, and is oriented toward strengthening the Army's combat strength and moral and political potential, improving and perfecting its management and organizational work, perfecting the efficiency of training for commanders and political bodies, and better use of means entrusted to it. It must obviously also develop firm discipline, promote the democratization of life in military collectives, and enhance its care for people.

The main effort must be focused on formations in which the results of the soldiers' combat and political training are manifested. That is also why the main measures are aimed at improving the planning of the training year, modernizing the training base, and providing good conditions for the soldiers' self-realization in culture and sports.

The Army is a sensitive instrument registering events in the foreign-political sphere. The fourth Soviet-American summit in Moscow has further strengthened the process of positive changes in international relations and enhanced the possibilities of further armament reduction. Our own country is not standing aside, either; this is proved (inter alia) by the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the NATO and Warsaw Pact states, which also contains military aspects. Our idea is to create along the line of contact a zone with increased confidence-building measures, and watered-down troop and arms contingents which would be sufficient for defense, but unfit to be used in a sudden attack. In the spirit of the Stockholm Document, the military-technical measures should include the exchange of data and verification teams.

Speaking about his recent visit to Austria, Comrade Vaclavik stated that it confirmed the usefulness of good-neighborly relations in the military sphere. Apart from a briefing on Austrian and CSSR military doctrines, agreement was reached on how to proceed in mutual relations.

Asked about the trend to use the Army as a kind of manpower reservoir whenever something goes wrong, the minister of national defense stated that the Army's primary mission is (and will always be) to defend the fatherland. This is also the source of the Army's international commitments within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, because this defense is feasible solely within the Pact community. The army expresses its wish to participate (to the best of its abilities) in building the country and in sharing its social life by helping our national economy. Last year alone, a total of 17,000 soldiers and about 2,000 pieces of technical equipment worked for more than 1,157,000 work days; and in their free time the soldiers worked for more than 100,000 days in voluntary work brigades. The minister also stressed that the military construction enterprise is working for our national economy (particularly in the construction of the Prague metro, of tunnels and highways), as is the Military Design Institute, the military forests and farms enterprise, and naturally also the military printing and publishing houses. Railroad troops are helping in transportation tasks as part of their training.

The principles of economic accountability will be implemented in all economic production organizations of the CSLA. Asked about thriftiness in the Army, the minister said that it is being strictly observed. Last year our soldiers saved more than 11,000 tonnes of crude oil within the framework of socialist competition, and created values worth more than Kcs195 million within the improver - inventor movement. Currently we are concerned with doing even more— with savings and economizing especially in troop training; it must be organized effectively, the modern training base (training machinery) must be fully used to thoroughly prepare a soldier for combat technology even before he actually gets to use it.

As for the democratization of army life (this aspect of troop life is also greatly emphasized today), the minister of national defense said that orders, instructions, and centralism (without which no army organism can exist) are the natural foundation of army activities; still, adequate scope must be created for spirited work with the people, for a frank dialogue, for listening to views, comments, and justified demands so as to enable them to approach us trustingly.

As for chicanery, Comrade M. Vaclavik stated that violations of mutual relations continue to be a problem in our Army. Above all, we support the efforts of commanders and soldiers to jointly resolve these problems and to establish comradely relations in the Army, so our soldiers can accomplish their tasks and feel comfortable within the organism of the Army. Disruption of these relations leads to strict consequences.

Regional, District Party Secretaries Conference

AU2906121488 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 24 and 25 June carries on pages 1 and 2 in each case Prague-datelined CTK reports, 3,600 words and 2,650 words respectively on the 2-day statewide conference of the leading secretaries of CPCZ regional and district committees, held in Prague on 23 and 24 June.

The report carried on 24 June is entitled "The Party's Uniform Course in Implementing the Conclusions of the Seventh and Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Sessions,"

and subtitled "Statewide Conference of Leading Secretaries of the Party's Regional and District Committees; Main Paper Read by Comrade Milos Jakes; Making Use of Well-Proven Experience and Searching for New Roads; Implacable in Fighting All Things That Generate Stagnation, Passivity, and Bureaucratic Approaches; Consolidating Responsibility, Order, and Discipline in the Party and Society." This report deals with the first day of the conference, lists the leaders attending it, and reports on Milos Jakes' opening speech and the statements in the discussion that followed. Reporting the speeches during the afternoon session, the paper says: "Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the Political Main Administration (HPS) of the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA), spoke of the way the army's party organization approaches the realization of comprehensive restructuring. He stated that the adopted measures are meant to improve management activities within the CSLA, to restructure ideological work, intensify the army's unity with the people, and consolidate its combat ties with the other armies of the Warsaw Pact. He condemned all expressions of pacifism ensuing from a superficial evaluation of the international situation."

The report carried on 25 June is entitled "Implementing the Leninist Style of Party Work in a Creative and Principled Manner," and is subtitled "Comrades Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Frantisek Hanus, Karel Hoffmann, and Frantisek Pitra Reply to Topical Questions at the Statewide Conference of Leading Secretaries of the Party's Regional and District Committees; Comrade Milos Jakes Spoke Toward the End of The Deliberations; the Unity of the Party and of All Its Agencies on All Levels, Beginning With the CPCZ Central Committee, and the Militant and Exemplary Behavior of All Communists Are Decisive for the Success of Our Policy, of Restructuring, and of the Development of Socialist Democracy." Reporting the statements made during the discussion on the second and final day of the conference, the paper says: "Jan Kolar (from the CPCZ's District Committee in Cesky Krumlov) spoke of the growing interest shown both by Communists and by nonmembers in the district in the process of comprehensive restructuring and in the progress made in its implementation to date. They regard it as a way to remove the current shortcomings, as well as to improve their own working conditions. He also recalled that nevertheless some citizens approach restructuring from the viewpoint of their private interests and their own advantages. He pointed out the increasingly vigorous ideological subversion from abroad, to which this border region is subjected." In conclusion the paper reports M. Jakes' final speech at the conference.

Fischer Receives Japanese Delegation

AU2906142588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jun 88 p 1,2

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [27 June] in Berlin, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer received a delegation of the House of Councillors of Japan, headed by Deputy Masatoshi Tokunaga, for a talk. Oskar Fischer briefed the Japanese delegation on the topical aspects of the GDR's peace policy, including the course and results of the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones. He stressed that one must not permit any halt after the start of nuclear disarmament. The GDR is making an active contribution to the conclusion of further agreements, such as on the halving of the strategic offensive weapons while adhering to the ABM Treaty, on the ban of chemical weapons, and on the reduction of conventional military potentials. The members of the House of Councillors pointed out that Japan supports nuclear disarmament.

Oskar Fischer and Masatoshi Tokunaga affirmed the interest of the GDR and Japan in further developing political dialogue and bilateral cooperation for the benefit of the two peoples and as a contribution to raising international stability. [passage omitted]

BCP Delegation Holds Talks With Felfe

AU2906143788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jun 88 p 5

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the invitation of the SED Central Committee, a BCP delegation led by Central Committee Secretary Vasil Tsanov arrived in the GDR on Monday [27 June]. It was received by Politburo member and SED Central Committee Secretary Werner Felfe for talks in Berlin the same day. He briefed the visitors on the significant International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones held in Berlin last week, that has met with a broad reaction worldwide.

Werner Felfe paid extensive tribute to the performance of cooperative peasants and workers in implementing the resolutions adopted by the 11th party congress. He said that comprehensive intensification remains the main road toward the growth of performance and efficiency. The proven course of the unity of economic and social policy is also clearly reflected in agricultural policy. In line with the resolutions of the 13th peasants' congress, the cooperative peasants and workers in the socialist agricultural, forestry, and foodstuffs industry have substantially contributed to implementing the party's economic strategy by dynamically developing agricultural production. At the same time, life in rural areas has been further improved through the solution of social policy tasks. Werner Felfe said that the basis for the further increase in yields, performance, and efficiency is the broad application of scientific-technological progress.

Vasil Tsanov expounded the BCP's current tasks. In the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the party conference in January 1988, efforts are aimed at accelerating the development of productive forces in agriculture through the ever more comprehensive utilization of modern technologies.

Petur Mezhdurechki, ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the GDR, took part in the talk.

On the same day, accompanied by Werner Felfe, the guests visited the "Edwin Hoernle" LPG in Berlin-Marzahn and the Berlin horticulture state-owned farm.

Toasts at Official Dinner for Austria's Vranitzky

Honecker Speaks

LD1506202388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1501 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 15 Jun (ADN)—In his toast at the dinner [on 15 June] in honor of Dr Franz Vranitzky, Erich Honecker said:

It is with great pleasure that I once again welcome you and your entourage to the GDR, Federal Chancellor. Your visit offers the opportunity to continue the trusting dialogue which has for a long time characterized the fruitful relationship between our states.

Our talks today, which were held in a constructive spirit, confirm primarily our joint views about what was achieved at the Moscow summit and about what must now be done to shape lastingly and irreversibly the hopeful changes in the world that have been started. This agreement on the decisive issues of world politics also forms a solid foundation for the high level of our bilateral relations. The maxim for the actions of our two states in central Europe is to contribute to a secure peace in accordance with their possibilities.

Your country's activity for an improvement of the international situation, for the political settlement of peace-threatening conflicts and for understanding and cooperation, and its active policy of neutrality, are recognized worldwide and highly appreciated. The GDR has elevated to the supreme principle of its policy the fact that it will do its utmost so that never again war—and only peace—will emanate from German soil.

True to this commitment we are developing manifold activities. These include the efforts for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe along the sensitive dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Through mankind's entry into the nuclear-space age new prospects of progress and of a solution to its existential problems have emerged. At the same time, weapons of unimaginable destructive force came into being. Enough have been accumulated to destroy life on earth, not just

once, but many times. The danger is therefore great. What could be more important therefore than undertaking the most decisive efforts in order to ban them?

At the beginning of this century, Bertha von Suttner, the well-known Austrian author and peace champion, said that "the stopping of wars in the future in a progressively developing world is not just a possibility." No one should isolate himself from this view any longer. It finds its application in the coalition of peaceful forces of reason and of realism, which are increasingly gaining influence and breadth.

The proof of this is to be found not least in the great response to our initiative for the "International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones" to be held in Berlin. I am pleased that your country will also be represented.

With satisfaction we detect that a change for the better in international relations is becoming apparent. The recent summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow was of great significance for this. The process of disarmament received a strong new impetus, which is all the more to be welcomed because there is no lack of efforts by certain circles to stop it. At the same time, the great possibilities arising from understanding and cooperation in the interest of maintaining peace and of solving worldwide problems for the welfare of mankind are becoming clear.

Now that the USSR-United States Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has come into force, more substantial reductions in nuclear and conventional arms must follow this first pioneering step. With regard to this the GDR with its allies stands, as you know, for radical measures. If the vicious circle of rearmament is to be destroyed once and for all, then the prerequisite is that conceptions of deterrence, of a policy of strength and of striving for military superiority, must disappear into oblivion.

In our talks, Chancellor, we fully agreed on the fundamental questions of securing peace as they currently present themselves. For their solution following the Moscow summit there are encouraging and promising conditions. Above all it is necessary to concentrate on continuing the already far-advanced efforts to achieve an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons while strictly observing the ABM Treaty, and to bring them toa positive conclusion. This would be of central significance for the dynamics of the disarmament process and would decisively improve the atmosphere in favor of further disarmament steps.

We also regard as important a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, for which Austria also works committedly. Like you, Chancellor, we regard the rapid conclusion of a test-ban treaty as a fundamental step toward stemming the nuclear arms race.

We agree that all efforts to undermine the positive results in the sphere of intermediate-range missiles through an arms drive in other areas must be countered. Because, as you noted, as a result "the new dimension in East-West relations now achieved would be endangered by a new dimension of arms escalation."

So we support the negotiations being started this year on a drastic reduction in armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, and on new confidence- and security-building measures. The entry into conventional disarmament in Europe which would ensue as a result would without doubt be the most important result of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. In this connection I would like to point out that the GDR welcomes and supports Vienna's candidacy, proposed by Austria, as the site for the new disarmament negotiations.

In our view, if there is a realistic approach by all participating states, results are possible at the Vienna meeting which will raise the CSCE process to a qualitatively new level. This relates to all the main directions of the Helsinki Final Act, to the political, military, economic and humanitarian dimensions. The draft for a concluding document, which offers a good basis for this, was worked out by the neutral and nonalgined states, with the active involvement of your country.

As it has done up to the present, the GDR, together with its alliance partners, will work constructively and be ready for compromise for agreements which lastingly consolidate peace, promote trust and cooperation, and so provide advantage and benefit to the people.

It is also urgent to remove conflicts and sources of tension in other parts of the world. Explosive developments, such as in the Middle East and in southern Africa, contain serious threats to world peace. I know that we both are of the opinion that the solution to these controversial problems can come about only by peaceful means, while the legitimate interests and rights of the peoples are respected.

Federal Chancellor!

Your visit to our country is of great importance for the further development of bilateral relations. Many GDR citizens link the name of Austria with altogether positive experiences of fruitful cooperation in the spirit of goodneighborly relations.

In Eisenhuetenstadt, Ilsenburg, Leuna, and Werder—to name just a few—modern production sites have been created with Austrian participation. In science and technology too there are impressive examples of mutually beneficial East-West cooperation. The Leipzig fairs demonstrate each year how consistently trade is developing.

By their appearances to mark the celebrations of Berlin's 750th anniversary, Austrian artists not only demonstrated the great achievements of their national culture but also documented the high level of cultural exchange between our countries.

In a word, the positive balance of our relations is evidence of the vital force of the Helsinki process. It illustrates the possibilities inherent in peaceful coexistence. I am of the view that relations between the GDR and Austria—you yourself, Federal Chancellor, recently described them as first class—are exemplary with regard to implementing the Final Act. That is why their importance extends far beyond the bilateral framework. We will of course not be satisfied with what we have achieved but will expand it still further.

Federal Chancellor!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

By paying tribute to our useful exchange of views, and the trusting atmosphere in which it was held, and wishing you a pleasant stay in our country, I raise my glass to the continuing development of flourishing, friendly relations between the GDR and the Republic of Austria and to the future of mankind in a secure peace and to your good health, Federal Chancellor, and the good health of all present.

Vranitzky Speaks

LD1506232188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1634 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 15 June (ADN)—Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky declared in his toast:

Allow me first of all to thank you warmly for the invitation to make this visit, for the hospitable reception and the friendly words about Austria. I am not here in your beautiful country for the first time, and I recently had the opportunity to take a small, private cultural trip to several of your historically and culturally important towns. But it is the first time that I have come to the GDR in my official capacity as Federal Chancellor, and so you will certainly understand that I accord particular importance to these meetings and talks.

We have always viewed the GDR as a neighboring country in the broader sense, and I am pleased to be able to say that the relations between our two states have constantly deepened and intensified since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1972. Even in times when the general international climate was not as positive as today, when not all states found the basis for talks, we consciously cultivated our contacts further and expanded them continuously, and thereby preserved a climate which has proved to be very useful and important even in the larger political perspective. The location of our states, in the center of Europe and on the dividing line between two political systems, imposes on us a measure of responsibility which we have consciously carried in the past, and which we intend to continue to take seriously in the future.

Although the world looked spellbound toward Moscow almost 2 weeks ago following the meeting of the two superpowers, one fact remains: Alongside all the importance accorded without doubt to the two great countries, on the basis of their military, economic, and political strength, for the preservation of peace in the world, the small and medium states also have their function to fulfill. They also have their contribution to make toward a peaceful and cooperative world.

Decisions on war or peace are not only made in two, or at best a handful of capitals. In our interdependent world, peace policies and the will to cooperate must emanate from every state and from every region in order to be really lasting and constant.

In this spirit Austria welcomes all progress in the solution of the still too numerous regional conflicts. Naturally, we are prepared to play our part in the solution of conflicts, as we have proved by our work in the United Nations and its special organizations. As we have also proved specifically in a number of areas of conflict—in the Middle East, in Cyprus, and recently by sending five Austrian officers to Afghanistan and Pakistan.

"Peace begins in one's own house," was a saying often used by former Austrian Federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger.

The fact that today one hears so much about the "common European house" indicates that European policy is also automatically peace policy and must be understood as such. In this connection, Herr Chairman, would like to say that especially your European and peace initiatives of recent years have brought the GDR a large measure of international recognition. They certainly correspond to our own policy. Austria, too, is always trying to support the disarmament process and contribute to it whenever possible.

The Austrian Federal Government attaches the greatest importance to an intensive policy of neighborliness within the framework of its concept of Europe. We see in this policy a concrete contribution to the predominance of constructive cooperation, economic progress and stability in our region.

Here, too, we understand the concept of "neighbor" in the broader sense of the word. We would certainly also like to see it encompass our relationship with the GDR. We see quite important elements of our cooperation in the continuous development of human contacts, cultural exchange, and not least of all economic relations. We want to see jointly their steady intensification. The establishment of a branch of an Austrian bank in the GDR this March seems to me to be a typical example in

this spirit of the dynamism of our relations and to be a pointer to the future. I also see the cultural exchange between Austria and the GDR which has recently led to such much-regarded high points as a very positive development. I regard this as a particularly important supplement to our work at the political level.

The formation of relations with the EC should be seen as the second important pillar in Austria's European policy. Here the declared objective of the Federal Government of Austria is the fullest possible participation of Austria in the joint European market. However, what must be clearly and unmistakenly stressed here is that every single step, every measure toward achieving this objective can be taken only while maintaining perpetual neutrality. This is an essential element in the European order of peace since 1945 and must be maintained accordingly.

We see also in the CSCE follow-up conference an essential factor of effective and efficient peace policy. As the site of the follow-up conference in Vienna, Austria has from the beginning accepted a particular responsibility for a successful conclusion of this conference. I am pleased that the outline of a final document, worked out by the neutral and nonaligned states on the basis of an Austrian initiative and which was presented to the CSCE plenum in May, has been described by many states as a useful and helpful working basis for the final phase of the Vienna follow-up conference. We hope to have made with that a decisive contribution to a successful and productive end to the conference. But Austria will also make its contribution in the future to the continuation of the CSCE process. The offer of Vienna as a meeting place also for the follow-up on conventional disarmament and confidence-building measures should certainly be understood in this spirit.

Dear General Secretary, the last months have been shaped by a political optimism which, in the years of a lack of readiness for dialogue which we had to experience beforehand, it seemed had been lost. I believe we should take the current delevopment as confirmation that with insistence, with a certain degree of optimism, and the consistent pursuit of a policy recognized as right, even political cold periods affecting the whole world and other disadvantageous background conditions can be well overcome. However, we should also see it as an obligation, through an active peace policy—whether at bilateral or multilateral level—to help to form the global policies for today.

Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to raise my glass to your welfare, Chairman, to that of those present here, and to the further positive development of relations between the GDR and Austria in a peaceful world.

SED Leaders Attend Workers' Fest in Frankfurt

LD2506114888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2109 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Frankfurt (Oder), 24 Jun (ADN)—The 22d Workers' Festival of the GDR opened in Frankfurt (Oder) Friday with a popular show under the slogan "Peace Entered This Country on This Embankment."

Among the show's guests were the members and candidates of the SED Central Committee Politburo Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Heinz Kessler, Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive, and Inge Lange. They were cordially welcomed by the 4,000-strong audience at this opening event of the big cultural festival of the trade unions for socialism and peace.

Other guests at this popular show, staged in the "Erich Weinert" open air theater in the city center were trade union delegations from the FRG, Bulgaria, the CSSR, Cambodia, Cuba, Poland, the Mongolian People's Republic, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, and Vietnam.

At the opening Friedrich Beuel, chairman of the FDGB's Frankfurt Bezirk executive, pointed out the connection between the successfully concluded Berlin International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones and the evening's slogan. He underlined that the hosts and popular artists from all bezirke had prepared themselves with great creativity for the workers' festival.

A "cordial welcome" fanfare launched the program in which 1,200 amateur and professional artists, under the overall direction of Wlater Weigelt, reported in words, songs, and dances on the creation and growth of the GDR and life in Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk.

SED Delegation Ends Visit to Greece

AU2906160988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jun 88 p 5

[Text] Athens (ADN)—An SED delegation led by Siegfried Lorenz, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the SED Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, ended a several-day visit to Greece on Monday [27 June]. During their stay in Thessaly in central Greece, with which Karl-Marx-Stadt has maintained twin relations since 1984, an agreement was signed with the regional Greek Communist Party executive board on the further deepening of relations. In the course of the visit, numerous cordial meetings and talks with the country's citizens took place.

At a meeting with Greek Communist Party members in the Thessalian capital of Larisa, Siegfried Lorenz reported on the GDR's current policy tasks and on the successful Berlin International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones. The participants asked questions about the further development of socialism in the GDR. Larisa is the most important center of Greece's textile, tobacco, and foodstuffs industry.

The delegation was cordially seen off on Monday by Orestis Kolozof and Takis Mamatsis, Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries of the Greek Communist Party.

Honecker Appoints, Promotes People's Police
AU2906151188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jun 88 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the German People's Police, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council, promoted Major Generals Erich Bauer, Gerd Uhlig, and Alfred Winkler to the rank of lieutenant general. He promoted the colonels of the People's Police, Hans Berger, Rolf Schubert, Dieter Winderlich, and Klaus Zimmermann, to major generals. Ernst Braun, retired colonel of the People's Police, was appointed retired major general [sentence as published].

Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police; Colonel General Fritz Streletz, secretary of the GDR National Defense Council; and Wolfgang Herger, director of the Security Department of the SED Central Committee, were present.

Sindermann Decorates Meritorious Persons
AU2906133388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jun 88 pp 1,2

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—High state awards were presented to meritorious persons in Berlin on Monday [27 June]. They were conferred on them by the chairman of the GDR State Council, at the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers.

In recognition of special merits earned in comprehensively strengthening the GDR and in working for peace and international cooperation, Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, presented the Karl Marx Order, the "Star of Friendship Among Peoples" Order, the clasp of honor to the Great Patriotic Order of Merit in gold, and the Patriotic Order of Merit.

The festive event at the official State Council building was attended by Politburo members Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Guenter Schabowski, secretary of the SED Central Committee; members of the SED Central Committee Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and head of the GDR People's Police; Wolfgang Herger, director of the SED Central Committee Security Department; Ludwig Mecklinger, minister of health; as well as Werner Mueller, deputy chairman of the Central Party Control Commission; Gerhard Stauch, chief customs inspector of the State Customs Inspectorate; and other figures.

Horst Sindermann conveyed cordial greetings and congratulations from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to those who were honored and expressed thanks for their exemplary achievements. "We are in a period of particularly strenuous and creative work, aimed at the further economic and comprehensive strengthening of our republic and at the further improvement of the international situation, at joint security, cooperation, disarmament and detente between East and West," he stated. "Both our wishes and actions are closely linked with each other. The ideals and values of the workers' class need and call for a world that is free from war and violence, free from the burdens and dangers of the arms race and the policy of confrontation," Sindermann pointed out. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances 16-22 June

AU2406165388 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 17 to 23 June reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; and Politburo members Werner Felfe, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, and Guenter Mittag, bade Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky farewell at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport on 16 June. (17 June, p 1)

Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, and Horst Sindermann, chairman of the GDR People's Chamber, attended a festive concert in the Schauspielhaus Theater on 20 June. (21 June, p 2)

Erich Honecker received outgoing CSSR Ambassador Pavel Sadovsky in Berlin on 17 June. (18-19 June, p 1)

Erich Honecker received Colombian Ambassador Luis Villar Borda, Portuguese Ambassador Pedro Martim da Cunha Veiga Madeira de Andrade, Bolivian Ambassador Mario Velarde Dorado, and Sri Lankan Ambassador R.C. Austen Vandergert to accept their credentials in Berlin on 17 June. (18-19 June, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, and Inge Lange, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, welcomed the foreign officials arriving in Berlin for the International Meeting on Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones on 17 June. (18-19 June, p 1)

Horst Dohlus, Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mueckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, members of the SED Central Committee Politburo; and Gerhard Schuerer, candidate

member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, welcomed the foreign officials arriving in Berlin for the International Meeting on Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones on 18 and 19 June. (20 June, p 1)

Werner Eberlein and Werner Felfe, members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended the Day of Cooperative Peasants and Workers of the GDR in Magdeburg from 18 to 19 June. (20 June, p 2)

Werner Felfe, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, congratulated Fritz Dallmann, member of the GDR State Council, on his birthday in Berlin on 17 June. (18-19 June, p 2)

Werner Felfe and Margarete Mueller attended deliberations of the GDR Agricultural-Industrial Associations in Altenweddingen in the Wanzleben Kreis on 17 June. (18-19 June, p 2)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, participated in the deliberations of the Halle Bezirk leadership on the sixth Central Committee session in Halle on 16 June. (17 June, p 5)

Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended the deliberations of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership on the sixth Central Committee session in Magdeburg on 17 June. (18-19 June, p 3)

Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, accompanied Franz Vranitzky, chancellor of the Republic of Austria, on his trip to Potsdam on 16 June. (17 June, p 1)

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, chaired a meeting of the Collegium of the Defense Ministry and the Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army in Berlin on 17 June. (18-19 June, p 2) Heinz Kessler attended a concert of the Erich Weinert Ensemble of the National People's Army in Frankfurt (Oder) on the weekend 18-19 June. (20 June, p 2)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, attended the Erfurt Bezirk leadership meeting on 16 June. (17 June, p 5)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a commemoration on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the "Koepenick Bloody Week" in Berlin on 21 June. (22 June, p 12)

Briefs

Delivery Backlogs, Supply Problems

The East Berlin weekly WELTBUEHNE has reported that in the GDR there are delivery backlogs totaling M253 million, and that SED bezirk leaders have admitted to grave supply problems. Enterprises have been instructed to export products to the West for hard currency instead of supplying the GDR's citizens—a policy that has led to a disastrous supply situation throughout the country, with East Berlin being the only exception, for political reasons. [Summary] [*AU2906080188 Bonn DIE WELT in German 27 Jun 88 p 4*]

Daily Reports 30,000 Demonstrated 27 June
AU2906122188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jun 88 p 9

[MTI report: "Demonstration in Budapest"]

[Text] A demonstration organized by various groups of citizens to protest the destruction of Romanian villages began at the Heroes' Square in Budapest at 1900 on 27 June.

Some 30,000 people gathered in the square and began marching in the direction of the Embassy of the SR of Romania.

The participants in this protest march reached the embassy and wanted to present a memorandum expressing their protest. The document was not accepted by the embassy.

[NEPSZAVA carries an identical report accompanied by two pictures of the demonstration: a general shot of masses of people standing in the square and holding signs with slogans, and a smaller close-up shot of a group of demonstrators apparently standing in front of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest holding a sign that reads: "Both the Danube and the Olt have the same sound"]

Assembly Discusses Personnel Changes, Budget
LD2906155588 Budapest MTI in English 1413 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)— As reported, the summer session of the Hungarian National Assembly opened in the parliament in Budapest on Wednesday morning. The session is attended by leading representatives of the party, state and social organizations. The diplomatic corps is also represented.

Ilona [as received] Cservenka, vice-president of the parliament, opened the session. The deputies unanimously approved the report on the work of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic between the two sessions. Ilona Cservenka announced that on the commission of the Council of Ministers, Miklos Villanyi, minister of finance, had presented the bill on the implementation of the 1987 budget. It has been forwarded to the standing commissions and the deputies as [has] the report of Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry, on the tasks of industrial restructuring.

Then the deputies determined the order of the agenda:

1. discussion of personnel proposals

2. discussion of the bill on the implementation of the 1987 budget

3. the report of the minister of industry on the tasks of industrial restructuring

4. proposal of Matyas Szuros, president of the Foreign Affairs Commission, on the resettlement plans of the Socialist Republic of Romania

5. discussion of interpellations and questions

The proposal on the order of the agenda was approved with one abstention.

As the first point of the agenda, parliament decided on personnel issues. In accordance with the joint proposal of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front Ilona Cservenka proposed that on his own request, due to his retirement, and with recognition of his merits the parliament relieve Istvan Sarlos of his post as president of the parliament. The deputies approved the proposal with 22 votes against and 14 abstentions.

Then, in separate voting, deputies relieved of their posts: on his own request, due to his retirement, with recognition of his merits Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, (with two votes against), on his own request, with recognition of his merits Sandor Gaspar, vice-president of the Presidential Council, (unanimously), and on his own request, with recognition of his merits Tibor Bartha, member of the Presidential Council, (unanimously).

On behalf of the parliament Ilona Cservenka thanked Tibor Bartha for his decades of work as a deputy.

Sandor Gaspar, Ferenc Havasi, Gyorgy Lazar, Karoly Nemeth and Miklos Ovari offered to renounce their parliamentary seats as there are no longer grounds for them to be elected on the national list. The Central Council of the HSWP and the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front proposed the parliament to accept their resignation. Parliament approved with three abstentions. The president thanked the leaving delegates for their work.

Then the parliament elected Bruno Ferenc Straub, who, under an earlier commitment, is attending a Albert Szent-Gyorgyi commemorative session in the USA, as president of the Presidential Council (with 36 votes against and 25 abstentions), and Istvan Sarlos as vice-president of the Presidential Council (with 29 votes against and 18 abstentions).

Further Ilona Cservenka announced that the Presidential Council and the HSWP CC and the National Council of the Patriotic Front proposes to the National Assembly to elect Imre Pozsgay as minister of state. She proposed to relieve Minister of Justice Imre Markoja and Minister of Education Bela Kopeczi from their duties with a full recognition of achievements due to their retirement and to elect Kaman Kulcsar as minister of justice and Tibor Czibere as minister of education. The deputies elected Imre Pozsgay with 2 votes against and 3 abstentions as

minister of state. Imre Markoja (with one against and one abstention) and Bela Kopeczi (with eight against and 14 abstentions) were relieved from their duties for their retirement with acknowledgement of their merits. The deputies elected Kalman Kulcsar (with 8 abstentions) as minister of justice and Tibor Czibere (21 against and 25 abstentions) as minister of education.

Following, the chairman of the session read out the proposal of the Patriotic Front presidium to elect Dr Karoly Toth and Janos Viczian as MPs on the national list's two vacant seats. The HSWP CC and the presidium of the Patriotic Front proposed to fill the posts of the chairman and deputy chairman of the parliament in electing Istvan Stadinger as chairman and Lajos Horvath as third deputy chairman.

On this proposal several deputies asked for the floor.

Zoltan Kiraly (County Csongrad) objected that for single posts single candidates were proposed. He said that although he agreed with the proposals, he wanted to make the motion of double candidacy for the chairman's seat proposing Istvan Gajdocsi, MP for County Bacs-Kiskun. Csaba Csongradi (County Heves) formulated another motion to include the name of Pal Ivanyi, the mayor of Budapest on the poll cards.

Karoly Blogh (County Gyor-Sopron) noted that Pal Ivanyi is not a member of parliament. Therefore, if he is nominated as candidate for the seat he has to be selected and elected on the national list by parliament. Jozsef Polgardi (County Pest) considered the preparations for the voting to take place at the next session of the parliament and in the meantime proponents could come up with other candidates. Bela Berdar (County Pest) made the motion to formally acknowledge the activity of Istvan Sarlos as former chairman of the parliament. Joszef Sarvar (County Komarom) made another motion for the chairman's seat naming Peter Horn, chairman of the cultural Committee (County Somogy) as candidate for parliament chairmanship.

Following Istan Gajdocsi and Peter Horn asked for the floor. They stated they agree with the candidates of the HSWP CC and the presidium of the Patriotic Front and requested they personally be disregarded in the selection.

Eva Balla (Budapest) said that the debate proved the limited influence of the MPs in the selection of the candidates. For instance the non party MPs were not summoned and briefed on the selection. She proposed to hold a discussion of party member and non party members MPs, to decide on multiple candidates and to discuss with the potential new candidates their willingness to accept the post.

Attila Zsigmond (Budapest) agreed with the original proposals but would like to have had arguments in favour of the candidates. Pal fillo (Budapest) joined those MPS who made the motion to ask all MPS before taking any personnel dicisions in the future. Zoltan Kiraly contributed again supporting Jozsef Polgardi by expounding that it became obvious that at this time no firm decisions could be taken on personnel issues. If at the next session office holders are elected then there should be a re-election procedure. On this ground he proposed to take decision at the moment on the meeting of party member and non party MPS and to postpone the final ballot until the September session. Miklos Vida (Budapest) said that the Central Committee of the HSWP and the presidium of the Patriotic Front picked candidates from a pool of several possible persons.

Erno Schmidt (County Vas) took a stand for the postponement of the personnel issues to a later and better prepared period. Ferenc Juhasz (Budapest) agreed with the nomination of Istvan Stadinger and made the motion to go ahead with the voting.

Since no more MPs asked for the floor Ilona Cservenka who chaired the session rose to speak. She expounded that the personnel proposals were not prepared without prior consultations. The responsible leaders of the country met the group of MPs called upon in each county regardless of their party membership status. If in Budapest something was neglected then it is an isolated case. The proposals are well founded, she said, as illustrated by the fact that no counter-proposals were made during the discussions. She agreed to record the merits of Istvan Sarlos in the minutes separately.

Before the chairman called for casting the votes Istvan Stadinger (Budapest) asked for the floor. He briefly summarized his career and expressed readiness to reply to any personal questions of the deputies. This was followed by the self-introduction of Lajos Horvath (County Baranya) to his fellow deputies who said that he accepts the nomination and he is ready to do his best for the renewal of the parliamentary democracy.

Ilona Cservenka in her capacity as chairwoman asked for voting on the question whether the personnel issue of the two candidates could be settled at the present session. The deputies accepted this proposal with 17 against and 16 abstentions. This was followed by a secret ballot.

The result of the ballot was reported by recording secretary Laszlo Pesta: On the national list Karoly Toth was elected with 342 y/11 n [as received: 342 yea-votes; 11 nays] and Janos Viczian received 338 yeah and 16 neys. He also announced that in the case of Istvan Stadinger as chairman of the parliament 222 and 129 votes were cast for and against, resp. [as received] Lajos Horvath received 314 votes with 38 neys as deputy-chairman of the parliament.

Istavan Stadinger expressed gratitude on his own and on behalf of Lajos Horvath to the deputies. Imre Pozsgay, minister of state and Minister of Justice Kalman Julcsar and Minister of Education Tibor Czibere also expressed appreciation for the confidence shown.

The parliament unanimously relieved from duties Bruno F. Straub and Istvan Stadinger as commission chairmen and Lajos Horvath as commission secretary. The question of the opened commission seats will be settled at the next session. Thereafter, Karoly Toth was unanimously elected as member of the Presidential Council.

In the pause of the session the recently elected Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, Minister of Education Tibor Czibere and Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar were sworn in by Rezso Trautmann, deputy president of the Presidential Council. At the ceremony Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP and prime minister, Gyula Kallai, president of the National Council of the Patriotic Front and Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council were also present.

The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic awarded Order of Banner With Laurel Leaves to Bela Kopeczi, state prize winner and former minister of education as recognition for his wide-ranging state administration, scientific and public education activities for the implementation of the socialist education policy on the occasion of his retirement. The decoration was handed over by Rezso Trautmann, deputy president of the Presidential Council. At the ceremony Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, Gyula Kallai, president of the National Council of the Patriotic Front and Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council were also present.

Villanyi Speech on Budget

LD2906184488 Budapest MTI in English 1554 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)— The bill on the implementation of the central budget for 1987 was put forward by Miklos Villanyi, minister of finance.

He pointed out that, as compared to the previous two years, there had been improvements in several important fields of the economy: The gross revenues of the economy strongly increased, the deficit of the non-rouble accounting balance of trade and payments decreased, and the state budget's deficit was reduced.

The gross domestic product— in current prices— increased by 12.4 per cent. However, almost three-quarters of this increase was related to price increases. On comparative prices the more than 3 per cent increase significantly exceeds the rate of the recent years.

The balance between the generation and utilization of incomes was not created last year either. At the same time this happened in a different manner as in previous years. In 1985-86 domestic utilization met the planned target but revenues increased behind the planned rate. In 1987 the generated revenue was larger than anticipated. Investment outlays took a strong swing up by 12 per cent and, in contrast to plans, consumption increased by 3 per cent in real terms. The convertible currency accounted foreign trade balance of payments showed a USD 846 million deficit.

The central government measures taken during the year could only partially influence the ongoing processes. The deficit of the state budget without these additional measures could have reached 55,000 to 58,000 million forints.

It was the intention of the government to reduce the budget deficit to 30,000 to 35,000 million forints according to the requirements of the balance. This effort was successful, even if not at the desired lower level. The final budget deficit was 9,000 million forints lower that planned.

Despite multiple attempts the rise in subsidies could not be harnessed during 1987. The companies and cooperatives received 212,700 million forint subsidies, which contributed to their profits, and which is a 7 per cent increase over the previous year's figure. In addition they had direct access to 18,100 million forints for the replenishment of funds. Despite the slight decrease in the ratio of subsidies in the profits, the level exceeds 80 per cent which is extremely high. It is against all reasoning that more than half of the companies and cooperatives receive profit-increasing subsidies under any pretense— emphasized the minister.

The financial and profit situation of the economic units became more differentiated as in previous years. The number of highly profitable industrial companies and cooperatives increased. According to the trend of previous years the most profitable firms are among the smaller sized ones. They have a share of 30 per cent in the industry but their combined share in the assets is only 7.5 per cent.

The state budget expenditure for accumulation was 43,500 million forints. This was mainly used for infrastructural development and export expanding investments. On large investment projects 2,400 million forints were spent.

Among the budget expenditures an increasing share goes to the public and communal consumption related expenses and subsidies. For the sake of balance improvement, the support of institutions financed by the budget was reduced.

As we see, said Villanyi, from 1989 on the support for educational and [word indistinct] institutions should be increased and funding of health care should be kept at the same level in real terms. With the rest of budget-funded institutions there is no guarantee for the maintenance of the support in real terms.

Social security costs increased by 12,600 million forints in one year and exceeded the envisaged level by 2,000 million forints. This overspending was mainly due to the social measures taken during the year— increases in pensions, benefits, etc. These accounted for 3,700 million forints additional expenses.

Despite the continuous measures of the government during the year to improve the balance of the budget, the revenues failed to cover the increasing government expenses. This was the reason why the government asked parliament for a mandate for taking up short-term loans, which was granted. During the year 25,000 million forints short term loans were issued by the National Bank of Hungary. The rest of the budget deficit was backed by the temporary reduction of the state owned financial reserves.

For the final arrangement of the budget deficit of 1987 the short-term loan must be turned to a long term one and, to cover the further 9,800 million forints deficit, a long-term central bank loan is required, said the minister and asked the deputies to authorize the government to conclude the credit agreements for covering this gap.

Speaking on this year's tasks Villanyi said that the targets defined in the stabilization programme approved by parliament determine the direct duties of the fiscal policy: It should serve the improvement of the external and internal balance.

In the first five months of the year the hard currency accounted foreign trade balance showed an essential improvement. However, the reaching of the targets in balance of trade and international payments demands serious efforts: During the rest of the year 7-8 percentage point differential should be achieved between exports and imports in favour of exports.

At present the terms of rouble-accounting trade are in favour of Hungary. Imports exceed by 4 per cent last year's one in terms of volumes while export remain at last year's level. The aggregated deficit for the first five months is some 20 per cent lower than it was in the similar period a year ago.

The accomplishment of the 1988 plan and its external financing is supported by the credit agreement of USD 360 million with the International Monetary Fund. This supports the continuation of cooperation with the World Bank and favourably affects our relations in the international money markets. The cooperation is intended to be continued for the complete term of the accomplishment of the government programme— said the minister.

Later on Villanyi said that this year's economic and financial processes expose the risk of unfavourable turn in the financial relations. As far as the present trends continue then the budget deficit exceeds the level which was approved by parliament.

The larger than planned deficit in turn risks the internal and external balance. The budget balance would be in jeopardy by the above-the-plan outflow of company subsidies. Among the new tax forms the accomplishment of the personal income tax's financial turnover is insecure. All these made indispensable to take measures for the reduction of subsidies. The measures of the government affect, among others, the rouble export regulation, the coal mining subsidy, the subsidy of Malev airlines and the financing of some decentralized funds.

The refloating fund started the year with 4,000 million forints of available resource (this is the carryover fund from last year), this was increased by the envisaged 1,500 million forints of the budget of 1988. As for the whole year the approved budgetary subsidies should not increase.

At the same time it is unavoidable to increase in some fields the planned subsidies granted this year for the organs financed by the central budget. This factor also endangers the budgetary balance.

The government guarantees the budgetary resources of the 300-million-forint resettlement fund set up under a parliamentary decision by regrouping some other separate funds. This fund can be increased by donations by legal entities and individuals. The fund is aimed to help create the living conditions of foreign citizens who wish to resettle in Hungary.

The Council of Ministers has discussed experience in the two taxation laws introduced early this year. Accordingly, it has modified the enacting clauses of the law on the personal income tax. The modification of the general value-added tax is to be put on the agenda on the autumn session of parliament.

Concerning the implementation of the targets of the 1988 state budget, the minister did not exclude the possibility of further cuts in subsidies and increases in revenues so as to reduce purchasing power and decrease the budgetary deficit.

Miklos Villanyi's speech was followed by a debate.

Roundup of 1st Day's Session

LD2906220188 Budapest MTI in English 2055 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)—On Wednesday, the first day of the summer session of the Hungarian Assembly, nine deputies expounded their views in the debate over the bill on the implementation of the 1987 central budget. As there were no more contributors, speaker Istvan Stadinger closed the first day of the session.

Some excerpts from the debate:

Mrs Laszlo Lestar, Maria Varga (physician, Budapest) said that over the past two years the Armed Forces enjoyed relative preferences. She stressed that although the defence of the country is a very important issue, in view of the pressing economic difficulties, the preferential treatment of this sector is unjustified.

Dezso Borcsok (general manager, Budapest) said that the government had extended its restrictive policies connected with the economic woes to higher education as well so the situation of higher education kept deteriorating and the universities were unable to follow the international trends of development.

Rezso Nyers (Bacs-Kiskun), member of the HSWP Political Committee, established that the government had undertaken to introduce the unpopular but necessary tax reforms, indicating that it wished to open a road for further reforms. Some months later, however, the general public asked with growing anxiety whether the endeavours of the government would be confined to financial restrictions, whether the reforms would only be the decorative elements of political rhetoric, whether the adequate openness, democracy and flow of information would be guaranteed. In May the party conference gave a political answer to these anxieties. Now the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party concentrates its political influence on bringing financial stabilization to success and recreating political confidence so that the country should return to the track of long-term modernization and embark on the road towards socialist market economy, social security of livelihood and advanced democracy. To attain these aims, the reform process should be extended to the political institutions, the Constitution and the ownership relations. Should these programmes take up a concrete shape, the much desired economic policy turn will start this year and unfold in 1989.

"Last year the budgetary deficit of 34,000 million forints, the foreign trade balance deficit of 350 million dollars and the balance of payments deficit of over 1,000 million dollars did not yet bring us closer to financial consolidation. Parliament should encourage the government to step up its efforts so that the foreign trade balance should have a lasting surplus from 1988 and 1989 and the balance of the central budget be restored," Rezso Nyers stressed.

He said that the strong inflation marking the Hungarian economy was pushing up the costs and the prices. Nor will this trend change in 1989 as the roots of inflation, namely the high costs, financial deficits and the restrictions imposed on competition, have not yet been eliminated from the economic life. The acceleration of restructuring and the reduction of enterprise subsidies will also have an inflationary effect. Under such circumstances we have the only choice of keeping the price rises under control and combating the real pathogens of inflation with a wide range of economic policy measures.

There are two neuralgic points in the Hungarian economy: the slow development of exportability to hard-currency markets and the huge amount of central subsidies granted for the enterprises.

With economic diplomacy, production cooperation, joint ventures and increased importing ability, we have to give impetus to hard-currency sales that should go up from the current 5,000 million dollars per year to 6,000 and 7,000 million in a matter of three to four years.

Hungary is maintaining favourable relations with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Since the country was admitted, the two organizations have granted 3,000 million dollars of loans under preferential terms, coupled with a further 1,000 million dollars of commercial loans.

The central subsidies granted for the enterprise sphere are still high. Last year 40 percent of the taxes imposed on enterprises were regrouped for subsidizing the production and export of other firms. This tendency is still strong. The tax burden of enterprises could be considerably reduced if subsidies were decreased to a reasonable level so the profitable enterprises would be given a wider scope for development. This is a task of the future.

Although the 67,000 million forints allocated to consumer price subsidies is also a high sum, these subsidies are granted for areas like public transport, household energy and medicine so they sould be rationalized rather than reduced. Rezso Nyers termed it as regrettable that the government failed to allocate sufficient funds to health, basic research and the sphere of education and culture.

According to Reszo Nyers, the beginning of the institutional settlement of economic relations between the Western and Eastern parts of Europe creates a new opportunity for expanding economic relations with the convertible-currency markets. The settlement of EEC-CMEA relations, the successful conclusion of the protracted talks was a favourable development from this aspect. Hungary and the European Community are soon to conclude a commercial agreement, making it possible for Hungary to step up commercial activities in the Common Market. The agreement will mainly encourage the exporters but also the importers to develop profitable economic relations.

The uniform market of the European communities scheduled for 1992 will open a new phase in West European integration, and create a new situation for the non-member states. 'We have no alternative but an extensive adaptation to the uniform West European market. We hold it necessary for the CMEA community to work out its related trade policy and tactics, and for Hungary to continue its independent initiatives.'

Mrs Szirtes, Erika Tomsits (assistant lecturer, Budapest) held it necessary for the autumn session to examine the plans for revising the taxation system. She pointed out that the various price rises stimulated inflation and the planning office seemed not to have known about the forced price rises. She asked that, instead of subsequent corrections, the government should put forward its price reform conception. The deputy proposed to allocate more funds to the cultural and health sectors, and improve the situation of the highly qualified professionals by settling their wages. She urged to launch a comprehensive reform of social security and define its functions more clearly.

Janos Fekete (Bekes), first deputy president of the National Bank of Hungary, said that this year Hungary repaid all of its ruble loans. In view of the strengthening dollar, Hungary's debt stock expressed in that currency is to decrease this year as the country took up the bulk of its loans in DM and Yen. Janos Fekete regarded the 1988 plan as realistic but the aims stipulated in it could not be sufficiently asserted. Progress is particularly slow in the liquidation of loss-making enterprises.

According to Janos Fekete, this year Hungary has to take up an additioonal loan of 2,500 million dollars so as to finance its debt service and the import costs of the national economy. In the first half of the year the National Bank of Hungary received 1,500 million dollars of loans and talks are under way on further loans, for instance with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. On this basis the foreign resources required for implementing the annual plan seem to be guaranteed. If the annual plan and the tasks set by the stabilization programme are fulfilled, owing to the favourable structure of the debt stock, the debt service will be lower by an annual 750 million dollars in 1989 and 1990.

Zoltan Kiraly (tv commentator, Csongrad) spoke about the budgetary implications of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. The current situation, he said, requires to revise the plans and decrease the costs to the reasonable limit. He mentioned that some major investment projects were suspended while others are constructed more closely. The water barrage has not yet been discussed by parliament although the economic and budgetary situation make it a pressing necessity to put the issue on the agenda. The deputy did not challenge that the previous decision on the establishment of the water barrage was correct. Zoltan Kiraly estimated the Hungarian investment costs to amount to 106,000 million forints. It would result in considerable savings, he said, if the Nagymaros water barrage and the adjacent projects were not constructed at all or were prolonged. He proposed to set up a special commission from the members of some parliamentary commissions to study the issue. He also proposed that parliament should ask the government to suspend the diverting of the Danube to a new bed until August 31, 1988. The government, asking unbiased experts, if required even foreigners, for cooperation, should seek cost-saving solutions, and elaborate proposals— as soon as possible, until the work are suspended— for these solutions or the postponement or stopping of the construction of the Nagymaros water barrage. The parliamentary commisions should discuss the alternative proposals of the government and parliament put it on its agenda in the autumn, if possible, already in September.

On Thursday the summer session of parliament is to continue with Miklos Villanyi, minister of finance, answering the comments on the implementation of the 1987 central budget.

New State Minister Pozsgay Interviewed on Duties
LD2906161188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Announcer] The ministers elected today by the National Assembly took the official oath before Rezso Trautmann, vice president of the Presidential Council and then my colleague Szolt Bocskai spoke to Imre Pozsgay, the new state minister.

[Begin recording] [Bocskai] First let me congratulate you on your election. Since we learned that after a long time Hungary will once again have a state minister, many people have speculated on his tasks. Do you know yet what your tasks will be?

[Pozsgay] Yes, although the final regulations must be announced by the Council of Ministers. But I think the political intentions to date will be realized in these regulations. Above all, the building and strengthening of the government's social contacts, so those one-sided aspects which up to now have been connected to the executive power should stop. One of my most important tasks will be to maintain contact with social and political organizations and institutions. To build up the government's partnership with them so that the contact will not just be representative events. The same in connection with various citizens' initiatives in society. Also, the construction of the government's parliamentary contacts. For a legislative phase is now coming in which the affairs of political democracy are very much tied to the production of these two organs. Beyond this, to science policy. Plus to the affairs of openness: radio, television, MAGYAR HIRLAP, and MTI.

I do not rate the following lower than the rest, but as a priority task: dealing with the nationalities, and the construction of the country's openness. [end recording] [passage omitted]

PZPR, ZSL Greet CPSU Conference

LD2906210688 Warsaw PAP in English
1951 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 29—The PUWP CC sent greetings to the 19th CPSU Conference held in Moscow.

The message, signed by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, said in part: "The Polish United Workers Party, Polish society which follows the road of socialist renewal whose goals are identical with the assumptions of Soviet perestroyka and glasnost, are fully at one with your creative activity.

"The coming visit of CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to Poland will be an important event in the history of our relations and one serving the deepening of our friendship, development of new forms of cooperation, and rapprochement between our nations.

"The PUWP CC, all communists and working people, feeling the fraternal ties of friendship uniting our parties and nations, express the conviction that resolutions of the conference will make a significant contribution to the development of the theory and practice of the socialist construction, to the bold restructuring releasing the creative forces of the party and the Soviet people."

On behalf of the chief committee of the United Peasants' Party (UPP) its chairman Roman Malinowski also sent a message to the conference, which said in part:

"The processes of restructuring going on in the Soviet Union are convergent with and support the line of socialist renewal in our country. That is why your conference and the main assumptions of further development of restructuring contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's report generate vivid interest and friendliness in Polish society, including the inhabitants of the countryside."

Polish-Soviet Group Discusses 'Blank Spots'

LD2906205688 Warsaw PAP in English
1902 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 29— During a meeting with representatives of the press, radio and television here today, Professor Jarema Maciszewski spoke about the hitherto achievements of the mixed Polish-Soviet commission concerned with the so-called "blank spots" in the relations between both countries.

Undertaking the joint work Polish and Soviet scholars agreed that the aim is not balancing grievances. The idea is to jointly uncover that what was bad but also that what was good in the past.

The commission decided to look in detail into the 1917-1945 period, of course with the necessary references to the years and processes prior to and following this [word indistinct]

During this phase of its work the commission is giving close attention to such issues as, for example:

—The years 1919 and 1920. The basic facts are known and the commission is agreed as to their evaluation. The idea is to assure that every Pole and every Soviet citizen has within their reach a jointly prepared monograph of this war: a war which was unneccesary, bad, which caused not only human and material losses but also wrecked great havoc in the consciousness of both nations. I personally propose adding an annex to the monograph in the shape of Pilsudski's work "Rok 1920" (The Year 1920) and Tukhachewski's work "Return Over the Vistula." Teams have already been created which are working on the monograph.

—The next great problem is the tragedy of the KPP (Communist Party of Poland). We are also close to concluding work on this subject. The Soviet side made available documents which up to now were unknown to anybody including an illegal resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International from August 1938 which disbanded the KPP. However, only raw data on the executed and missing KPP activists functions. We were unable to review the mechanisms of the provocation, what happened inside the Communist International in the 1930's. We will soon receive a set of documents concerning the Polish workers' movement. An unpublished resolution of the international from May 1939 on the reconstruction of the KPP is an absolute revelation.

—A great number of topics concerns the genesis of the Second World War and its first stage. We carried out an extensive analysis of Poland's and the Soviet Union's whole international policy on the threshold of war as well as the history of bilateral relations at the time. We discussed the determinants of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. The world's historiography so far has had access to rich but one sided German documents from the Third Reich's archives captured during the war. Soviet documents, which are not available to scholars, are lacking. One thing is clear— there was an official Soviet statement on this— that the whole phraseology connected with the events in September 1939 on the Polish-Soviet border is anti-Leninist, shameful, incorrect and false.

—We are looking in detail into the Soviet Union's policy in western Ukraine and Belorussia and Poland's eastern regions. Here we have to deal with a painful and complex issue of the internment camps at Kozielsk, Starobielsk, Ostashkov. Polish and Soviet scientists are studying in a great detail the circumstances of the murder carried out on Polish officers whose remains were found in Katyn. We will explain this issue to the end. Lately Prof. Smirnov, who is the head of the Soviet side in the mixed commission, said during a press conference in Moscow that the Soviet side carried out a detailed analysis of Western sources and that the Polish side is looking into Soviet sources. Up to now— I will add— there are few of these sources. An intensive search is being conducted.

The truth must be sought with patience. This was a great tragedy and we have the duty to explain to the grandsons what was the fate of their grandfathers. Many questions still remain.

The problems of the participation of thousands of Poles deported to the depths of the Soviet Union in the war effort during the Second World War are still relatively unknown. In truth we do not know much about the great chapters of the Poles' struggle in Soviet partisan units in the Ukraine. The history of the participation of Poles in the Soviet Army, Polish espionage operations against the Germans and activities aiding the Soviet intelligence, the Soviet Union's diplomatic assistance during the period of the rebirth of Poland after the Second World War are still relatively unknown to the wider population.

Rakowski Begins Visit to France, Holds Talks

LD2606214188 Warsaw PAP in English
2105 GMT 26 Jun 88

[Text] Paris, June 26—Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski arrived here today following an invitation from the French Institute for International Relations. At the Institute, Rakowski will deliver a lecture on "Poland at the Time of Transformations" in which he will present Poland's current problems.

The programme of the week-long visit provides also for meetings with leading French politicians of both the ruling and opposition parties. Rakowski will also hold talks with members of the leadership of the Communist Party of France.

Confers With Officials

LD2806231888 Warsaw PAP in English
2117 GMT 28 Jun 88

[By PAP correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, June 28—Member of Political Bureau and secretary of PUWP CC Mieczyslaw Rakowski, on a visit to France at the invitation from the French Institute of International Relations, held talks here today with former Foreign Minister, Senator and Head of the "France-Poland" friendship group in the Senate Maurice Schumann. The talks dealt with further development of Polish-French relations and cooperation. Schumann had headed a French delegation which visited Poland some time ago.

Rakowski also met today with distinguished activist of the Gaullist party RPR, former foreign minister and also former ambassador to Poland Jean-Bernard Raimond and Professor Alfred Grosser, leading French specialist on German issues.

During talks with Maurice Schumann, the two sides discussed the current state of Polish-French parliamentary contacts and pointed to the possibilities of their regular expansion, the Polish TV news bulletin reported tonight.

Stressed was the significance of the Polish-French forum now being prepared which is to hold its opening session in Krakow in October.

Discusses Relations

LD2906222588 Warsaw PAP in English
2006 GMT 29 Jun 88

[By PAP Correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, June 29— Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski, now on a visit to France, was received here today by President of the French Senate Alain Poher.

Also today, Mieczyslaw Rakowski held talks with France's Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. The talks concerned both the current state of Polish-French relations and prospects of their development. Discussed were also current problems of the international situation with particular regard to disarmament issues.

Political consultations between Polish and French Foreign Ministries' officials are starting in Warsaw on July 1. Whereas, Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski will pay a visit to France in the autumn. [sentence as received]

Mieczyslaw Rakowski today met with heads of a dozen or so French concerns interested in economic cooperation with Poland. The meeting was attended by outstanding French economic activists, including the president of the Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry Philippe Clement, Vice-President of the "Alcatel" Company Bernard de Gaulle, director of the "Thomsom" concern Philippe Giscard d'Estaing, president of the coal concern Charbonnages de France Jean Pache, general director of the Airbus Industries concern Georges Richard.

During a press conference held at the Polish Embassy here today, Mieczyslaw Rakowski briefed French journalists on the current problems of Poland's internal situation.

Today's "LE MONDE" carried an extensive interview granted by Rakowski to the daily's journalist, Sylvie Kauffmann. Quoting Rakowski, "LE MONDE" printed the interview under the headline saying "One Must Expand the Platform of National Agreement."

Jaruzelski Receives Guyanan Vice President

LD2706183488 Warsaw PAP in English
1629 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 27—The 1st secretary of PUWP Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today the Secretary General of the People's National Congress, Vice-President and Vice-Premier of Guyana, Ranji Chandisingh.

The two discussed their countries' internal situation and touched upon some international problems.

Present at the meeting was Guyana's ambassador accredited to Poland Malcolm Parris.

Bank President Meets World Bank Directors

LD2706145488 Warsaw PAP in English
1410 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 27—President of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) Wladyslaw Baka received here today a group of executive directors, members of the World Bank Board of Directors who had just started their Polish visit.

Baka presented the circumstances of social and economic transformations as well as interdependence between Poland's internal situation and improvement of her foreign finance and credit relations. Referring to the resolution of the PUWP CC 7th Plenum, he emphasized determination of the authorities to lift both structual barriers and those evident in conservative attitudes of people.

"Poland", said Baka, who is also Political Bureau member and secretary of the PUWP CC, "is determined to pursue a policy of openness to the world. This strategic orientation has a threefold objective: First, to establish conditions for technology transfers and modernization of Polish economy. Second, to achieve competition on Poland's market. And third, to establish conditions for acceleration of national income growth and for an increase in exports surplus, which would allow for full servicing of Polish foreign debt."

"The pursuit of the policy of openness," Wladyslaw Baka went on, "is encouraged by the transformations occurring in the system of the economy's and the state's operation. The Polish economic reform finds strong support in the cooperation with member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), and with the Soviet Union in particular. Much will depend on how soon full normalization of Poland's economic cooperation with Western countries is attained. We have specially great expectations with regard to development of our credit relations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank," Baka stressed.

The group of World Bank executive directors was also received by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, secretary of state at the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Wojcik and Vice-President of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers Jozef Zajchowski.

Civil Rights Campaigner Allowed To Travel

LD2406174488 Hamburg DPA in German
1549 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The prominent Polish civil rights campaigner Jacek Kuron (54) received a passport in Warsaw Friday from the responsible passport authorities and will now be able to use it to take part in a peace seminar in Sweden. Kuron, who has never been abroad before, is one of the cofounders of the Workers Defense Committee (KOR) and is an adviser and active member of the banned trade union Solidarity.

Two members of the pacifist movement Freedom and Peace (WIP), Jacek Czaputowicz and Gwidon Zlatkes also wish to travel to the seminar, which begins next Wednesday in the Swedish town of Lund. They were told in the passport office on Friday to come back on Monday for a final decision as to whether they could travel. Last week the Solidarity adviser Bronislaw Geremek traveled to Italy. In past years his travel applications to the West was rejected several times.

'Communique' Issued on Council Election Results

AU2906170188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Jun p 3

[Unattributed item: "Communique by the Electoral Commission, 21 June 1988, on the collective results of the people's council elections"]

[Text] In accordance with Article 93 of the people's council election rules, the State Electoral Commission, having received protocols of voting results from 49 voivodship election commissions and collective reports on the results of voting to the primary-level people's councils in each voivodship, hereby declares the following collective results of the elections to the people's councils:

On 19 June 1988 there were elections throughout the country to 49 voivodship people's councils and 2,394 primary-level people's councils, including 247 urban councils, 26 district councils, 572 urban-rural councils, and 1,549 rural councils.

The elections were conducted by social bodies and district election commissions, comprising a total of 242,563 people.

For the purpose of the elections, the country was divided into 31,412 electoral districts, consisting of 2,183 districts with one mandate, 5,022 with two mandates, 8,433 with three mandates, 8,228 with four mandates, and 7,546 with five mandates.

There were 22,017 election subdistricts.

Altogether, 108,848 people's councillors were elected out of the 256,632 nominated by electoral colleges.

Some 6,877 councillors were elected to the voivodship people's councils, including 6,199 councillors out of 15,601 candidates in 1,997 electoral districts, and 678 councillors from the 49 voivodship lists of candidates.

Councillors to the primary-level people's councils were elected in 29,415 electoral districts. A total of 240,353 people competed for 101,971 seats in these councils. Some 41,587 people competed for 16,798 seats in urban councils, 6,842 competed for 2,730 seats in district councils, and 68,153 people competed for 28,888 seats in urban-rural councils, and 123,771 persons competed for 53,558 seats in rural councils.

There were 26,271,252 people eligible to vote. In 1,997 election districts, 14,452,643 voters did vote, in other words, 55 percent of the eligible population. Some 14,404,592 valid and 48,051 invalid votes were cast. Some 6,198 councillors were elected out of 15,601 candidates.

In electoral district number 16 in Slupsk the result for one seat was undecided because both candidates for this seat received the same number of votes. A new vote will be held for this seat, in accordance with Article 94 of the election rules.

In the voting for people's councillors in the 49 voivodship lists, 14,499,878 voted, with 14,458,590 valid and 41,288 invalid votes. A total of 678 councillors were elected out of the voivodship lists.

Altogether, 6,876 councillors were elected in the electoral districts and out of the voivodship lists.

The elections to urban people's councils were held in 4,537 election districts.

The number of those eligible to vote in the urban council elections was 10,612,318. Some 5,211,889 did vote, casting 5,187,760 valid votes and 24,129 invalid ones. Out of 41,587 candidates, 16,797 were elected.

In electoral district number 23 in Bielsko-Biala, the result for one seat was undecided because both candidates for this seat received the same number of votes. A new vote for this seat will be held in accordance with Article 94 of the election rules.

The elections to district people's councils were held in 715 electoral districts. The number of those eligible to vote in them was 3,271,277, out of whom 1,568,715 did vote, casting 1,555,602 valid votes and 13,113 invalid ones. Out of 6,842 candidates, 2,730 councillors were elected.

The elections to the urban-rural people's councils were held in 8,384 electoral districts. The number of those eligible to vote in these elections was 5,906,307, out of whom 3,503,978 did vote, casting 3,497,593 eligible votes and 6,385 ineligible ones. Out of 68,153 candidates, 28,882 councillors were elected. Concerning three seats, each one in a different electoral district, all candidates either received the same number of votes or two out of three candidates received a higher, but equal, number of votes. The electoral districts in question are: number 17 in Nowy Sacz voivodship, number 19 in Plock voivodship, and number 15 in Ostroleka voivodship. In accordance with article 94 of the election rules, new votes will be held.

The elections to the rural people's councils were held in 15,779 election districts. The number of those eligible to vote was 7,328,600, out of whom 4,575,330 did vote, casting 4,562,007 valid and 13,323 invalid votes. Out of 120,771 candidates, 53,524 were elected. Concerning seven seats, each in a different electoral district, candidates either received the same number of votes or two out of three candidates received a higher, but equal, number of votes. The electoral districts in question are: number 10 in Szczecin voivodship, number 3 in Bydgoszcz voivodship, numbers 10 and 13 in Kalisz voivodship, number 3 in Elblag voivodship, and number 8 in Tarnobrzeg voivodship. New votes will be held in accordance with Article 94 of the election rules.

In addition, a total of 28 seats to rural people's councils remain unfilled.

Chairman of the State Electoral Commission: Adam Zielinski. Deputy chairmen: Andrzej Elbanowski, Czeslaw Jaworski, Waclaw Kupper, Sylwester Nowak. Secretary: Edward Szymanski. Members: Jerzy Breitkopf, Antoni Chacinski, Zbigniew Cierpka, Roman Drecki, Stanislaw Dziubak, Janina Gawronska, Jan Jachymek, Jadwiga Jedrzejczak, Sylwester Kaczmarek, Tadeusz Kojder, Jan Marczuk, Franciszek Olczak, Zbigniew Olejnik, Janina Polony, Feliks Siemienski.

Messner Discusses Elections

AU2906170588 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Zbigniew Messner Statement to RZECZPOSPOLITA"]

[Text] Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and his wife cast their votes at the seat of the 187th district electoral commission in Warsaw. Following this, he issued a statement to a RZECZPOSPOLITA journalist:

"Today's elections to local government bodies are important for two reasons. First, because they are being run according to new principles, according to amended election rules which permit the inhabitants of each area to influence the selection of cadres and the composition of the future people's council. In particular, they may nominate candidates at citizens' meetings organized by self-governing bodies of residents or PRON at one's home or place of work. Over 70,000 people were nominated this way. The fact that the voting rules have changed is also very important. The elimination of preferential mandates means that it is necessary to select candidates, in other words, delete names. I have also deleted names, leaving undeleted the names of those who seem able, at least in my opinion, to make use of the people's councils' new powers.

Second, against the background of a group of amendments to the laws governing the functioning of people's councils and local self-government bodies and within the framework of the economic reform, the independence of the people's councils will be guaranteed not only legally, but, what is perhaps more important, materially.

I wish all the newly-elected people's councillors the ability to use all their newly-granted instruments which guarantee the best solutions to the problems of local communities.

Rakowski Views Plenum Implementation Tasks
LD2406195488 Warsaw PAP in English
1705 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 24—A meeting of representatives of the mass media from all over Poland, attended by PUWP CC Political Bureau member, CC Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski was held today to discuss the tasks associated with the implementation of the resolution of the 7th PUWP CC Plenum.

Rakowski's Address [subhead]

Rakowski stressed that at the 7th plenum the party leadership unequivocally gave expression to its conviction that the whole party should in the nearest future appear much more clearly as the guiding force, a leading force boosting the processes of socialist renewal.

The role of the party as the vanguard of transformations should remain the focus of attention of the mass media. This confronts it with the need to more deeply look into the inner life of the party. The constant confrontation of the past with the present is also necessary, especially in the field of civil freedoms and human rights, self-government and law abidingness, the CC secretary said.

In light of the changing role and tasks of the party, the matter of criticism of all links of the party, from the grassroots up, also calls for a new frame. No one in the party and no party authority of any level can remain outside criticism, Rakowski said.

Referring to the way the Soviet perestroyka is being reported on in the Polish mass media, Rakowski noted that in the first phase the information had a touch of sensation. One should not bypass in silence criticism of that period. The point is, however, to preserve the right proportions. One cannot focus attention solely on denouncing Stalinism because this would be onesided, hence a false presentation of Soviet reality. One must show the whole complexity of the process of perestroyka, its successes and defeats. The press should inform the Polish reader more broadly about the outright exceptional determination with which Soviet Communists struggle against all that which led to violations of the principles of social justice, Rakowski pointed out.

Speaking about another aspect of the 7th plenum, Rakowski recalled that the Political Bureau forwarded numerous proposals which on the whole could be described as a higher stage of the policy of opening and expanding the base of power exercising. One must act with twicefold energy to attain the goals which the resolution of the 7th plenum treats as an important condition of the successful implementation of democratization processes. One should strive to win over the so-called centre in which there are also citizens who in the past were emotionally or owing to other reasons tied with "Solidarnosc" and for whom this is something of the past today, the CC secretary continued.

The mass media should be against lack of trust which still prevails in various links of authority towards the citizens, Rakowski said.

At the end of his address Rakowski stated that adjusting modern times in propaganda must first and foremost signify the attachment of big weight to dispute as a method of information characterized by a fast rate, truth and attractiveness.

Discussion [subhead]

The discussion focused on the conditions which must be met for dialogue between the mass media and society to exist and develop. The credibility of everyday descriptions of reality must be one of these conditions, the participants in the meeting agreed.

The conclusion drawn after the several-hour discussion was: The betterment of propaganda must be a derivative of a deepening and expansion of processes of political democracy. Not that which we declare but what we can show black on white as authentic achievements, that to which the everday dialogue with the readers, viewers and listeners should aim at.

Role of New Commercial Bank Viewed

PM2906115188 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 22 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[Interview with Wit Naliwajko, plenipotentiary for the setting up of the General Commercial Bank in Lodz, by unidentified GLOS ROBOTNICZY correspondent; date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Within the general reform of the banking system, nine credit banks have been created in the country. They are to take over credit services for the economy. One of the new banks will be the General Commercial Bank in Lodz. Wit Naliwajko, previously deputy director of the Lodz voivodship branch of the Polish National Bank [NBP], has been nominated plenipotentiary for the organization of the new bank. We asked him about the future of the Lodz credit bank.

[Naliwajko] In the last few days the NBP chairman approved the principles of reorganization of the division of the old network of NBP branches. By this decision, the General Commercial Bank was given the official financial basis for its operations. Accordingly, as of 1 January 1989, the Lodz bank will begin its operations through 29 branches. [passage omitted]

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] You will command a very wide range of operations....

[Naliwajko] All in all, we shall command about 10.5 percent of the total, nationwide credit capacity. You can say that we occupy a place somewhere in the middle of the range.

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] You will begin your financial operations on 1 January. What is happening now?

[Naliwajko] We have appointed a five-person working group which is currently drafting a timetable for the operations which must be completed by the end of the year, that is, before the opening of the General Commercial Bank. Among other things, our systems analyses deal with such questions as the funding of the bank's assets, provision of a reliable and efficient information system, and preparation of a blueprint for a system of interbranch account settlement. We are currently working on the draft projects of our financial and credits plans for 1989.

In addition, there is a vast amount of purely organizational tasks to be completed. We are already moving into a part of the premises of our central branch and soon we shall begin a review of the whole network to check on the existing working conditions in the branches we have been allocated. A draft of the organizational structure has already been drawn up. According to it, there will be eight people on the bank's board of management. The board will be headed by a chairman and two deputy chairmen. We have set up four departments: economic, credits, operations and clearings, and organization and administration.

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] Will these involve more structures?

[Naliwajko] Certainly not! The entire central management staff will total 60 persons, all recruited from the old structures of the NBP.

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] Your bank will represent the type of bank set up to service enterprises. How will individual citizens benefit from it?

[Naliwajko] Our plans provide for the setting up at a later stage of a full range of services for individual customers. This will include both credits and loans and the running of individual accounts in both the zloty and the hard currencies. We are even planning to introduce a whole range of services that are new in our banking practice, such as customer hire of safe deposit boxes.

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] There is a lot of work to be done before the end of the year, so we wish you, the Lodz bankers, much success with it.

Hungarian Consulate Closure Reported

AU2906164488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1628 GMT 29 Jun 88

["The Consulate of the Hungarian People's Republic in Cluj-Napoca Terminates"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/06/1988—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania informed the ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Bucharest that, starting 1 July 1988, the General Consulate of the Hungarian People's Republic in Cluj-Napoca terminated.

The Romanian General Consulate in Debrecen closed in January 1985.

Ceausescu Greets New PCI Secretary

AU2806104388 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Jun 88 p 5

[Telegram from RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to "Comrade Achille Occhetto, PCI General Secretary" on his election to office]

[Text] To Comrade Achile Occhetto, PCI secretary general:

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee and on my own behalf, I convey to you warm greetings on the occasion of your election to office as PCI secretary general. Likewise, I wish you complete success in fulfilling the highly responsible mission entrusted to you; I wish you success in the implementation of the objectives of the party aimed at achieving great renewing changes in the Italian society, in keeping with the fundamental interests of the people's masses, and in the intensification of the struggle of the progressive and democratic forces for independence, peace, cooperation, and progress.

I express my belief that the relations of close friendship, cooperation, and solidarity between our parties will continue to develop in a spirit of esteem and mutual respect, for the benefit of the Romanian and Italian peoples and in the interest of the cause of security, disarmament, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Ceausescu Message to Mozambique President

AU2806125588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jun 88 p 6

["On the National Day of the People's Republic of Mozambique:" message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique]

[Text] To Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Maputo:

Esteemed Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano,

On the 13th anniversary of the proclamation of state independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique, I convey to you, to the Frelimo, and to the friendly Mozambican people warm greetings and best wishes.

I believed that relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries will continue to develop for the mutual benefit of the Romanian and Mozambican people and in the interest of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation throughout the world.

I take this opportunity to convey to you best wishes for health and personal happiness and wishes for continuous progress, prosperity, and peace to the friendly Mozambican people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Ceausescu Greetings Message to Kim Il-Song

AU2806123288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jun 88 p 5

[Telegram from RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to "Comrade Kim Il-song, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK President" on the month of solidarity with the struggle of the Korean people]

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and DPRK president:

On behalf of the RCP, the Romanian people, and on my own behalf, I extend to you, to the WPK, and to all the Korean people, a warm message of friendship and solidarity on the occasion of the "month of solidarity with the struggle of the Korean people."

The Communists and our whole nation have supported and continue to resolutely support the Korean people's just struggle for national unity and the initiatives and constructive proposals of the DPRK, aimed at easing tension in the Korean peninsula and at creating conditions for the the peaceful and independent reunification of the homeland, by the Koreans themselves, without any outside interference. The fulfillment of the legitimate aspirations of the Korean nation to live in a united, free, and prosperous homeland, would be greatly significant for its independent development on the road of socioeconomic progress and for the assertion of a policy of detente, peace, and cooperation in that region and throughout the world.

I reaffirm the belief that the traditional relations of friendship, cooperation, and militant solidarity between our parties and people will continue to develop in accordance with the agreements we reached during our

meeting and talks in Bucharest and Pyongyang, in the interest of building the new socialist system in our countries and of the general cause of socialism, national independence, progress, and peace.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

PRC Delegation Visits, Meets Ion Radu

AU2706170288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1545 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/6/1988—Invited by the CC of the RCP, a delegation of activists of the Communist Party of China, headed by Li Ligong, member of the CC of the CPC, first secretary of the CPC Committee of Shanxi Province, paid a fact-finding visit to Romania over 16-27 June, this year.

During the visit, the delegation had swap-of-experience interviews at the Central Council of the Workers' Control of the Economic and Social Activity, the Constanta and Dolj County Committees of the RCP, and at the RCP Municipal Committee of Petrosani. The Chinese guests visited economic, social and cultural units in Bucharest and in the counties.

At the conclusion of the visit the delegation of activists of the Communist Party of China was received by Ion Radu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Ceausescu Meets World Jewish Congress President

AU2706143988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1347 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/06/1988—President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received Monday, 27 June, Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere.

Ceausescu Receives FRG Company Executives

AU2706174388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1706 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/6/1988—The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received on Monday, 27 June, Director-General Wolfgang Beeser and Commercial Director Herbert Roncevic of the Nur-Touristik firm of the Federal Republic of Germany, a firm which has collaborated with tourism enterprises of Romania for 25 years.

Panzaru Signs Economic Protocol With FRG

AU2806141888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1206 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/06/1988—The 15th session of the Joint Governmental Commission of Economic, Industrial and Technical Collaboration between Romania and the Federal Republic of Germany concluded in Bucharest on Tuesday, June 28.

Analysis was made of the present stage of the economic relations between the two countries, as well as of new measures and actions meant to deepen bilateral collaboration and cooperation and on third markets in fields of common interest, to grow and diversify the mutual exchange of goods.

At the end of the proceedings the co-chairmen of the commission—Cornel Pinzaru, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and Rudolf Georg von Wartenberg, parliamentary secretary of state in the Federal Ministry of Economy of the Federal Republic of Germany—signed the protocol of the session.

Ceausescu Address to Party Aktiv Meeting

AU2706182188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jun 88 pp 1, 3

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech on Perfecting Organizational, Ideological, and Political-Educational Activity, Aimed at Increasing the Leading Role of the Party in All Socioeconomic Areas," delivered to the meeting with the party aktiv and the basic cadres on 23 June in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: The working meeting with the party aktiv and the basic cadres in the field of organizational, ideological, and political-educational activity discussed—in the spirit of the documents endorsed in April—the activity of the party organizations and party bodies aimed at the unflinching implementation of the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the National Conference and of the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and on creating conditions to ensure Romania's progress toward communism. (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people," "Ceausescu-heroism, Romania-communism!")

The discussions held within the two working groups on organizational and propaganda issues and the discussions held in the joint meeting of the two groups strongly showed that our whole party aktiv, which works in these sectors, represent a great power and play an important role in implementing the party policy on socioeconomic development, on raising our country to new peaks of progress and civilization, and on improving the material and intellectual well-being of our people. (loud, prolonged applause)

In the meetings held by the two working groups and in the joint meeting between these groups, the participants discussed—in a critical and self-critical manner—issues regarding the activity in these sectors. It was justified that the participants emphasized the important results registered in all areas and the important role that the party bodies and organizations have played and are playing in the implementation of the party decisions, the laws of the country, and the programs for the socioeconomic development of the country.

The participants expressed a number of critical and self-critical positions—which could have been been even more critical—and some proposals on improving the activity in these sectors.

This is why one can say that this meeting with the party aktiv and the basic cadres in the two sectors has been completely in accordance with the requirements for a broad party discussion on perfecting the whole activity and on achieving a revolutionary working spirit in all areas, which is in keeping with the needs of the new stage in our homeland's development, of the socialist construction, and of the new stage in the many-sided activity of the party to lead the whole society toward the high pinnacles of progress and communist civilization. (loud, prolonged applause)

In the joint meeting of the National Council of Working People and of the National Council of Agriculture—the high forum of our workers revolutionary democracy—I spoke extensively about the great achievements we registered in the years of socialist construction and, particularly, about the results we attained in the first half of the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan, as well as about the necessary measures aimed at appropriately implementing the plans and programs for socioeconomic development and for implementing our strategic objectives until the year 1990, and in the future to the year 2000.

Therefore, I believe that our party aktiv in all areas understand properly the problems of our economic activity and I do not want to dwell further on them.

Nevertheless, in our whole activity, we should always start from the fact that the future of the homeland depends on the way in which the socioeconomic development plans and programs are implemented and on the way in which organizational, propaganda, and other activities are carried out in all sectors of our party. The party work and the party activity is ultimately reflected in the successful construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society.

This year we celebrated 40 years since we started building socialism in our homeland. This year we also celebrated 40 years since the achievement of the political-organizational unity of the revolutionary forces in our homeland and the creation of the uniform party of the working class—the Romanian Communist Party. (loud, prolonged applause)

One can justifiably state that, without a uniform, revolutionary party of the workers class—which can fulfill the role of the leading political force in this huge activity of changing the face of the whole country—we could not have even raised the question of proceeding to the construction of socialism. (loud, prolonged applause)

All the great revolutionary changes in our country have been achieved—as is well known—under the constant leadership of our glorious Communist Party, which has fulfilled and continues to honorably fulfill its historical mission of leading our nation toward the highest peaks of progress and civilization. (loud, prolonged applause and cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!," "Ceausescu and the people!").

In a short period, our country has traveled through several historic development stages. The bourgeois-landlord system and foreign domination have been eliminated forever, and the exploitation and oppression of the working people have also been eliminated. We have successfully achieved socialism and we have proceeded to building the comprehensively developed socialist society. From a poorly developed agrarian country, Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country whose progress is in full swing, with modern industry, that has been achieved on the basis of the latest scientific and technical discoveries, and with advanced socialist agriculture.

We have strongly developed production forces and, on this basis, have increased industrial output and national income, and raised the material and intellectual level of our people.

This year we celebrate the 20th anniversary of the territorial-administrative reorganization of the country, which opened the path toward the progress of all the counties and regions of the country, as a result of the correct policy promoted by our party and state to distribute industry and all the other branches of activity throughout all the counties and regions of our country. Thus, we ensured the necessary conditions to raise the general level of civilization for all the working people and we ensured true equality of rights for all the citizens of our socialist homeland, who, through their work and under the leadership of our Communist Party, turned Romania into a flourishing socialist country whose progress is in full swing. (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!," "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!")

We strongly developed science, education, culture, and the political-educational activity of shaping the new type of man. We can state with justified pride that, during this short historical period, Romanian science, education, and culture have become a strong force for the general progress of our society. Political-educational activity has played an important role in increasing the revolutionary awareness and in uniting the efforts of all the working people and of all our nation in the struggle to eliminate

the old state of affairs and build the new system—socialism, a society which ensures true social and national justice, and realistic conditions for continuously raising the material and intellectual level of our whole nation, which is the supreme goal of the policy promoted by our party and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society that we are successfully building in Romania. (loud, prolonged applause)

We paid particular attention to continuously perfecting the management of our socialist society in accordance with the realities prevailing in our homeland and we have forcefully developed the workers' revolutionary democracy, thus we have attained a new democratic system, unique of its kind, which ensures the participation of the people's masses and of the whole nation in the management of all sectors of activity, in working out and implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our party, and in building socialism with the people and for the people, believing that the entire managerial activity and our workers revolutionary democracy should be always based on this scientific and revolutionary thesis. (loud, prolonged applause)

The Ninth RCP Congress, held in the summer of 1965, was an event of great importance—one could say of decisive importance—for the socialist destinies of our homeland and for the general development of our socialist homeland.

The Ninth RCP Congress marked a new stage in the activity of our Communist Party and in the whole revolutionary process and opened the path for creative thinking and creative activity, for ensuring the development of the entire managerial activity, and for building the new system, socialism, in Romania. (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!," "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!")

We have traveled a long road of political and ideological struggle. We have carried out intensive socioeconomic construction and have ensured the general development of our homeland while decisively struggling against dogmatism, stagnation, and the use of cliches, and—I would like to emphasize this—against the very dangerous manifestation which appeared at a certain time, of even denying the past, the multimillenia-old history of our people, and the characteristics of the Romanian language, manifestations of nihilism, cosmopolitanism, and bowing down in front of everything that was foreign, of servility, and of lack of patriotism and revolutionary spirit. (loud, prolonged applause)

Without our decisive struggle against these manifestations, we could not have achieved everything that we have achieved in the general development of our homeland, and we would not have been able to maintain our party's revolutionary spirit. I emphasize these things because we should constantly and decisively fight against everything that is old and alien to the revolutionary spirit, and should promote new things and the true revolutionary spirit of scient socialism in the whole of our activity. (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!," "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!")

In the 23 years that have elapsed since the Ninth RCP Congress we have eliminated many negative aspects and mistakes of the past. We developed and more clearly defined the role of science and culture in building the new social system, proceeding from the fact that we cannot speak of building socialism and communism without basing them on the latest discoveries in science and culture and without general, human knowledge. Only on the basis of the latest discoveries in science, technology, culture, and human knowledge can socialism and communism be built successfully and can the well-being and happiness of the whole nation be ensured. (loud and prolonged applause)

We can state that, during the struggle against those manifestations to which I was referring, our party has truly regained the party's revolutionary spirit, its dignity, and awareness of a revolutionary, Communist party, and a party of the working class and of our whole nation. (loud prolonged applause) By eliminating the negative situations of the past we gave back to our people the feelings of patriotic pride, respect for its multimillenia-old past, national dignity, and the feeling of awareness of its force and capability to build its new, socialist life, in accordance with its wishes. (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!," "Ceasescu-heroism, Romania-communism!")

At the same time, during this period, we strongly developed the feeling of international solidarity with all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces everywhere. This is strongly reflected in the broad international relations of the Socialist Romania and of our party with other parties and progressive forces and with all the countries of the world, regardless of social system.

Now, when we are making preparations for the RCP Central Committee plenum, which will discuss the documents adopted in April, we should properly review, in a critical and self-critical manner, the whole activity we carried out in the past and from the lessons we learned and the conclusions we drew both from the good and the negative situation, we should establish measures to perfect the party activity and increase its leading role in all areas, because this is the sure guarantee of progress and of implementing the great strategic objectives for raising our homeland to new pinnacles of progress and civilization! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the people!")

Esteemed comrades, our country is currently moving through a decisive stage for achieving its strategic objectives for the future of our homeland. We have a strong material, technical, scientific, and cultural base and, above all, we have a strong party which has proved its capability to lead our whole nation toward the highest

pinnacles of civilization and progress. We have a workers class, peasantry, intelligentia, thus we have a wonderful people, which, in close unity, confidently follows the party because they see in the party the guarantee of their free future and Romania's independence and sovereignty! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu-heroism, Romania-communism!")

We have comprehensive plans and programs which, on a new scientific-technological basis, ensure the development of the production forces and raise the general level of civilization. We must most resolutely implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the party national conference regarding intensive development and achieve new quality in our work and life, in accordance with the latest discoveries of science and technology, and of the agrarian revolution.

Now it is decisive that we should proceed with all our power and determination to the implementation of all the plans and programs of the 13th RCP Congress and of the party national conference. In this respect, we should improve the management and increase the responsibility of all the state bodies and the organs of the workers' revolutionary democracy.

In their capacity as owners and producers, the working people's councils in central enterprises and all the working people's collectives are responsible for the whole of the activity in the respective units and for the many-sided progress of our country. Likewise, the central bodies are greatly responsible for harmoniously blending the responsibility of the democratic bodies in enterprises and central departments with the uniform plan for the socioeconomic development and with the uniform development of all the sectors of activity.

In accordance with the principles of democratic management—of self-management and self-administration—all these bodies are completely responsible for fulfilling the plans and programs and for ensuring the unflinching observance of the laws of the country and of the party decisions in all sectors.

It is well-known that the whole activity is based on the clear laws endorsed by the Grand National Assembly, which expresses the will of the whole nation and are compulsory for all the citizens of our homeland, for all our democratic bodies, for all our cadres, and—even more so—for the managerial cadres, who should set an example of the way in which they watch over the strict observance and application of the laws of our country.

In accordance with the principles of socioeconomic management, the party bodies cannot and must not replace the socioeconomic bodies, nevertheless, the party members in the state and socioeconomic bodies have to account for their activity both to the party and to the state bodies. The party members are duty-bound to set an example in the way they fulfill their tasks. To increase the leading role of the party means to increase the responsibility of Communists in the whole activity of socialist construction. All the party bodies and organizations are fully responsible for the unflinching fulfillment of the plans and programs in each sector of activity. This requires a proper scientific organization and the continuous perfecting of the socioeconomic activity, taking into consideration the new problems that might emerge in the development of each sector of activity.

Thus, Communists should be present in decisive places, in the first ranks, and should work with a view to uniting the efforts of all the working people in order to ensure the proper activity of fulfilling plans and programs.

Being a ruling party, our party is completely responsible for the fulfillment of socioeconomic development plans and programs. Within this framework, each party organization—in its own area—is fully responsible for the fulfillment of plans and programs and for an appropriate overall activity. Defining and specifying the responsibility of the party and state bodies is part and parcel of the activity of perfecting the activity on the basis of self-management and self-administration.

In this respect, it should be properly understood that the responsibility incumbent on the party bodies does not exclude and is not in contradiction with the responsibility of the state bodies, on the contrary, it represents a dialectical unity of the scientific management and of the workers' revolutionary democracy. We must clarify and make all the state bodies and all the bodies of the workers' revolutionary democracy understand that they are fully responsible for the appropriate management and the fulfillment of the plans and programs in those sectors where they carry out their activity. At the same time, they must understand that they account for their activity to the party and the people, and must account for the way in which they carry out their activity.

We should work continuously for the strengthening the revolutionary spirit, responsibility, order, and discipline in all sectors of activity. This also holds true for the activity of the party, state, and socioeconomic bodies.

The cadres and the people play a decisive role in achieving a proper scientific management, because ultimately they are the ones who decide on the success of the activity in one field or another. Therefore, we should perfect and improve the activity of forming and training cadres and the work with the party aktiv, and should raise the level of professional, technological, and political education of the cadres in all sectors. We have scores of thousands of party and state cadres and wonderful activists who daily carry out intensive activity in implementing the party decisions and in fulfilling the programs for the general development of our homeland. With such cadres we can be completely confident that we will eliminate many of the negative situations which are still manifested in one area or another and we will ensure the appropriate flow of the whole activity, a more

marked increase in the spirit of combat, and the most appropriate achievement of all the objectives established by the party and that are required by our nation. (loud and prolonged applause and cheers)

Esteemed comrades, we have a strong party which includes more than 3,600,000 members. We have strong party organizations in all socioeconomic units, in all areas.

We should devote greater attention to perfecting the activity of the party bodies and organizations and to its growth, by admitting new members to the party. We should see to it that admitting new members to the party is a solemn event and, at the same time, it should bring about a change in the activity and the life of the person who becomes a member of the Romanian Communist Party. The party membership should not be understood as a formality but as a profound change in the life and work of each party member, in his activity in society, at his place of work, and in the family.

Let us see to it that the position and the high title of RCP member should always represent a cause for pride and a symbol of justice and of the struggle for progress, socialism, and for the interests of the whole nation! (loud, prolonged applause)

We have set a rule that the major domestic and foreign policy issues and the activity of our party are discussed within the party. This represents a vital requirement for the internal democracy of the party and for increasing its force and combat capability. We should continue to devote all our attention to the party discussions—with all the party members—of all the general problems, and of the issues concerning each sector of activity. Only in this way will the party organizations—and the party as a whole—be able to fulfill its role as the leading political force of our society. In this respect, we should most firmly apply the provisions of the statute regarding the election of the party bodies and the role of the party in adopting decisions. You know all these and I do not wish to dwell on them.

We should strongly develop criticism and self-criticism, which are part and parcel of the party activity and of the party democracy. Nevertheless, criticism and self-criticism should not become a formality but a basic principle of the party activity, of examining the situation, and of drawing the conclusions and lessons for our future activity. Ultimately, criticism and self-criticism can only be proved in practice; only practice can prove whether criticism had been real or just a formality. Only such an attitude is a revolutionary and communist position, and only this attitude will make a contribution to increasing the force and combat capability of our party! (loud, prolonged applause)

At the same time, we should work most resolutely to strengthen party discipline by broadly discussing in the party all the problems of our society, thus we create conditions for each party member to express his opinion openly on all problems regarding the general policy and the concrete activity in various sectors. Likewise, we should see to it that each party member, after the decisions had been taken, works with all his energy to implement the adopted measures, in accordance with the principles stipulated in the statute. Nobody is allowed—and must not be allowed—to disobey the principles of the party activity and of the party discipline or violate the norms and rules of communist activity!

We should constantly watch that the party decisions and the laws of the country are unflinchingly implemented—this is an objective requirement for the proper flow of the activity of building socialism.

Likewise, I would like to draw attention to the need to continuously strengthen the party's ties with the workers' class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the working people, regardless of nationality, and with our whole nation. The inseparable ties between the party and the people are the supreme guarantee for the implementation of the leading role of the party and for successfully building socialism and communism in Romania! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people," "Ceausescu, Romania-our esteem and pride!")

While we work with utmost determination to implement the basic principles of our party, we should do all we can to continuously strengthen the political-organizational and ideological unity of the party. Only a party with a high revolutionary awareness and with complete unity can fulfill its historical mission to lead the whole nation toward the highest pinnacles of progress and civilization. Our party is a union of free people with high revolutionary awareness, who are united and voluntarily join the party—so to speak—and pledge to fight in complete unity for the ideals of justice and freedom, for socialism and communism, for the happiness of the nation, and for Romania's independence and sovereignty! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!," "Ceausescu and the people!")

The party is the vital core of our whole nation, which emits energy and revolutionary fervor, that gives an impetus to the whole socioeconomic activity. It is well-known that there cannot be life on earth without the energy and heat of the sun. In the same way, without a revolutionary party, there cannot be progressive changes and we cannot successfully build socialism and communism—the golden dream of mankind. (loud, prolonged applause and chants)

We should continuously strengthen the party and bear in mind that, for a long, long time from now the party—including the communist society—will continue to have an important role. Let us develop the pride of being an RCP member and to be among the ranks of those who assumed responsibility toward the whole nation to lead the people toward the golden dream, toward a dignified, free, independent, and happy life! (loud applause and

cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP," "Ceausescu-heroism, Romania-communism!," "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!").

Esteemed comrades, the ideological activity of improving the political-educational level and the revolutionary spirit is a decisive issue for increasing the leading role of the party. One can justifiably state—as I have already mentioned—that we have obtained important results in the ideological activity and in raising the level of socialist awareness and shaping the new type of man. The results we have obtained in the whole development of our homeland strongly prove this fact.

Nevertheless, as I mentioned at the meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the Party Central Committee in April, there are still certain shortfalls, particularly in ideological activity. The causes of these shortfalls can be varied. Among them, first, I think of the fact that we have not concentrated our major forces on socioeconomic and general development issues. Second, I think that the great achievements gave the impression that good results can be obtained without devoting too much attention to political-educational activity. And I believe that the activity of the party aktiv in the field of political-educational activity has somehow been underestimated and neglected.

I cannot claim that we have fully answered the question: "Why have such shortfalls occurred?" We have to think this over, to examine things, and to supply a more complete answer at the party Central Committee plenum.

Anyhow, it is necessary for us to understand that we have reached a development stage in which the ideological, political-educational, and the general level of culture are a particularly important factor for all our party and state activities and for the successful construction of the socialist society itself.

The great changes that have occurred in socioeconomic development, in the social structure, and in other areas have not reflected appropriately in the ideological and political-educational activity. Drawing conclusions from all past activities, we must not turn to and seek answers in the past, but must look ahead to the future and seek answers to new problems in keeping with the new requirements of socioeconomic development.

At the same time, we may say that the changes that have taken place in the balance of forces and in the international development have not been studied thoroughly to better understand the meaning of events, the prospects of the revolutionary struggle, and the struggle for progress and peace.

Taking all this into consideration, we must draw all necessary conclusions and work with determination toward improving ideological activity and the activity of social sciences in all areas.

We must perfect the research activity in the area of social sciences in general, we must pay greater attention to the Academy of Social Sciences, and we must perfect and improve activity in the area of sociological research and in other areas.

Proceeding from the conclusions drawn from practical activity and from the changes that have occurred at both the national and international levels, appropriate conclusions must be drawn for our future activity, to perfect the revolutionary concept about the world and scientific socialism in general. Moving from the fact that the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism have not been formulated once and for all, and that they must be constantly improved on the basis of the new achievements of knowledge, science, and social practice, each party—and therefore, our party, too—bears full and equal responsibility in studying the new realities and in contributing to improving the treasury of social sciences, the revolutionary concept about the world, and scientific socialism.

We must more vigorously stress that life, facts, and practice have demonstrated the correctness of the revolutionary concept, namely that socialism is not built according to patterns and models, but by creatively applying objective laws, which vary from country to country, and from stage to stage. Let us stress more vigorously the correctness of the policy promoted by our party that has known how to work—and continues to do so—to creatively apply the general truths to the realities in our country!

There are numerous new problems that need to be understood and clarified properly, particularly now, when there is general concern with perfecting the activity of various communist and workers parties, and with improving the work of socialist construction.

It is therefore necessary for us to become involved more determinedly in studying and clarifying the new problems in order to provide the party with clear guidelines and a future line. Among them I would like to mention: the problem of state and cooperative socialist ownership; the accumulation and development fund; the material incentive and remuneration system; the principles of socialist ethics and equity; the social structure; workers' revolutionary democracy; the way to bring villages closer to cities, to homogenize society, and to form a uniform working people; the role of the working people's masses and of the people in leading the society; contradictions in socialism; the action of objective laws in socialism and the so-called market socialism, as well as a number of world problems regarding war, disarmament, nuclear weapons, and peace.

We must provide clear answers and take a militant attitude when clarifying problems and implementing the basic rights of man, taking into consideration the attempts of imperialist circles and of various other

circles to distort and neglect, or even ignore some of the basic problems of man—his right to work, to education, his right to life, and many other things.

Taking account of the complex problems in the international arena, it is necessary to apply all our determination to better clarifying what is meant and what should be understood by the new thinking in relations between states, and in solving international problems.

In our ideological activity, we must engage more determinedly in studying the problems and phenomena of the world socioeconomic crisis, the problems of underdevelopment, the new world economic order, and the problems of the role of multinational monopolies and of international financial capital.

We must continue to pay particular attention to the basic principles of interstate relations, of full equality of rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and other national and international problems and phenomena.

It is also necessary to pay greater attention to ecological questions of our environment. This is necessary for the general and practical activity of socialist construction and of ensuring the best of living conditions for our nation, and it is needed because of the more and more complex problems that emerge in the world in this area.

At the same time, our ideological activity must have a new approach to the role of science, culture, and universal knowledge in the process of mankind's development on the road to progress and civilization, and stress this role to a greater extent.

Mankind is confronted with numerous problems today and so are our party and people. Our ideological activity should not ignore or deal only with some of these problems or recall them only, but should mobilize all necessary forces—and we do have the necessary forces!—to clarify and appropriately understand problems. For solely on this basis will we understand—I repeat—both the prospects of our socialist society's development and the future of our people, as well as the evolution and general trends in the development of the whole of mankind on the road to progress, socialism, and peace! (prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-peace!" and "Ceausescu-Romania, peace and friendship!")

I am stressing all this because mankind—and therefore Romania, too—is going through a period of great revolutionary changes. Within this framework, the ideological and theoretical activity, work in the area of social sciences, but also political-educational activity play a particularly important role in scientifically understanding the new realities in order to establish the revolutionary strategy for the future. We must constantly bear in mind and never forget that the revolutionary process has not been completed and will not be completed and that, as revolutionaries, we are duty-bound to ensure the conscientious management and progress of revolutionary transformations! We must constantly proceed from dialectical and historical materialism, from the revolutionary concept about the world, from scientific socialism, but also from the new achievements of science and technology, which enrich and will continue to enrich the revolutionary concept about the world and life, and human knowledge in general. Only in this way will we act as real revolutionaries and communists! Only in this way will all ideological and political-educational activities constitute a powerful material force for changing society and for ensuring the victory of socialism and communism in our homeland! (loud, prolonged applause, cheers)

Esteemed comrades, we must improve the activity of raising the political and ideological level of the party members; we must perfect party education and political mass education. We have a good party educational system. However, we must constantly improve it in order to make sure that the participants in it become acquainted with the new realities, that they acquire the revolutionary concept about the world, and that it helps them understand how to link theory with practice and general activity with the concrete activity of building the socialist society.

Let us intensify our political mass activity of molding the new man and of developing the revolutionary awareness of all citizens in our homeland! We must constantly bear in mind that the concept of scientific socialism, according to which freedom implies understanding needs, requires an improved cultural-scientific level and a high revolutionary education for molding the new man, conscious builder of his own destiny, of his free future of well-being—of communism! Only an educated person who fully masters the highest knowledge in all areas can understand the objective laws, the requirements of socioeconomic development, and realize in time the changes that are taking place in society, and only such a person can realize what is old and no longer suits the new stage of progress, and recognize the new things that will develop and represent the future. Only such a person, in a scientific sense, can be a really free man! (loud, prolonged applause) A poorly educated man who is ignorant and backward will always be dominated by bigotry, mysticism, and by all sorts of preconceived ideas. Such a man will always fall prey to reactionary influences, to chauvinism, nationalism, racism, and other reactionary influences, thus easily becoming an instrument of the most reactionary imperialist circles; this sometimes leads to his betraying his own people. Such a person undoubtedly cannot understand the sense of events, of changes, cannot keep abreast of the revolutionary progress of the masses and of the people! Such a man can never be truly free!

At this point, I believe, I should recall some verses by Eminescu, which hold true today as well:

Your sight was darkened by shadows that did not exist

And made you believe you will be rewarded...

But no! Death with the passing of life has quenched all pleasure.

He who has had only suffering in this world,

Has nothing in the other, because those who died are dead! (loud, prolonged applause)

This is why our propaganda and political-educational work must focus on struggling against ignorance and lack of culture, and on struggling to mold a highly cultured man, the conscious builder of the socialist and communist society. He must be a citizen of the socialist and Communist society of Romania! (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu, Romania-our esteem and pride!")

Within this tremendous political-educational and cultural activity we must give greater scope to the "Song to Romania" national festival, which represents a comprehensive movement of all our nation and ensures the participation of all people, young and old, men and women, including children, in creating and developing our new culture and in ensuring an ever higher level for our socialist culture. Let us vigorously develop and use all the means we have—clubs, cultural homes and houses, and theaters—and let us ensure that they have an appropriate content, songs, marches, poems, theatrical plays, and everything that is needed, so that this tremendous activity may appropriately play its very important role in molding the new man!

This is not the right place or time, but it is worth mentioning that the "Song to Romania" national festival has mobilized thousands and tens of thousands of talents from among our people, that it has vigorously and repeatedly demonstrated that the real creators of culture and of the Romanian language are the Romanian people, our whole nation, and that only together and closely linked with all our people will we be able to ensure a new, advanced socialist culture! (loud applause, cheers)

We must ensure the further improvement and development of the activity of creative unions in the respective areas.

Twenty-three years ago, shortly before the Ninth RCP Congress, during the meeting I held with some workers in the area of literary-artistic creativity, I raised the problem that a genuine source of inspiration for all artists should be our people and the achievements of our society; I mentioned what Leonardo da Vinci said a long time ago—that it is better to drink water from a spring than from a jug. This is even more topical now, since very many people are looking for very old jugs, they dig them up to drink water out of them, instead of going to the life-giving springs—of science, of progress in all areas. (loud, prolonged applause)

We need and we highly appreciate literary and artistic works in all areas; however, our society needs new works of art which will represent the man of today and his achievements. We need new novels, new poems, new theatrical plays, plastic arts, and new musical works. We have many good ones. However we need better ones in all areas. I am convinced that men of art in all sectors will understand that we have reached a stage in the development of Romanian society that requires that our men of art work with greater determination day and night to contribute, through their work, to the general improvement of our people's level of culture. (loud, prolonged applause, cheers)

It is also necessary for radio and television to perfect and improve their activity, considering the requirements they are facing today. Our press must also assume a more active and important role in the proper understanding of current problems of social development and in broadly discussing these problems, and they must also contribute to uniting the efforts of all our people in ensuring the unflinching implementation of the programs for our development in general.

I believe that all ideological and political-educational activities must become a mobilizing force that will unite the efforts of all our nation and lighten the road toward the golden pinnacles of the communist society. This is a noble mission and we must fulfill it under the most favorable conditions. Only in this way will the ideological activity, our propaganda, and education fulfill their mission in our society and only thus will they meet the interests of all our nation! (loud, prolonged applause; long chants of "We will work and struggle to elevate our country!")

Our political-educational activity must adopt a more intransigent attitude toward the various nationalist and chauvinist manifestations and toward certain reactionary behavior, and signs of mysticism; we must vigorously develop the feelings of love toward the homeland, toward the people, and revolutionary patriotism! At the same time, we must educate the masses in the spirit of international solidarity and of friendship with all socialist countries, with all progressive and anti-imperialist forces, and with all peoples who favor peace, freedom, and the independence of each nation! (loud, prolonged applause)

It is necessary to struggle firmly against various tendencies toward upstartism, fortune-hunting, and dishonesty, which are alien to the principles of socialism and humaneness. We must not ignore certain negative situations! We must not behave like an ostrich that sticks its head in sand in order not to see certain situations! We

must understand that such situations—which unfortunately still exist in our society—are alien to the principles of socialist ethics and equity; they are the result of failings in the political-educational work and of foreign bourgeois influence, including vestiges of the past, but also the result of outside influences. Therefore, we must adopt a firm and militant position toward all these problems!

It is necessary for mass and civic organizations to better understand the role they have to play in political-educational work. Specifically, the activity of trade unions needs to be improved, as does the activity of the Unions of Communist Youth, of the Union of Communist Students Associations, of the Pioneers Organization, and in general, the activity of all mass and civic organizations.

It is necessary to educate our homeland's young people and children in the spirit of the most advanced revolutionary concepts and scientific achievements. We must understand that this is a duty of all our party and of all our people. Young people and children represent the future of our homeland—and we must do all we can to arm the young generation with great revolutionary knowledge and with an elevated culture. This is the way to pave the road toward Romania's golden future. (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed comrades, life and events have vigorously demonstrated the correctness of the international political line and of the foreign policy promoted by our party and our homeland.

As is well known, the international situation continues to be very serious. The steps toward detente have not changed the balance of forces and have not eliminated the threat to the very existence of life on our planet.

It must be well understood that imperialism has not changed its aggressive nature and that the threat of war continues. The struggle for disarmament is closely linked to the achievement of new international relations and to eliminating the policy of force and dictate. Life vigorously demonstrates that, through united action, nations can change the trend of events and can ensure disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, can safeguard peace and the vital right of people to existence, freedom, and life.

The serious international problems of today cannot be solved by a few states alone. All states must assume responsibility and act with all their might for disarmament, for peace, and for new relations based on the principles of equality.

I do not want to refer to concrete problems; they are well-known. I only want to stress some problems on which, in my view, our ideological and political activity should focus.

It is necessary to increase even more the role of parties, of revolutionary political forces, and of progressive and democratic forces in the struggle to solve the complex international problems and to ensure new democratic relations among all states in the world.

In the era of tremendous achievements of science and human knowledge in general we are witnessing—unfortunately—a number of manifestations of a return to the past, to a number of outdated and reactionary concepts.

As is known, in the second part of the last century a vigorous activity of affirming new concepts about the world took place in both the social and political areas, in sciences in general, in biology, and in all other areas. Humanity has made great discoveries, flights into outer space have been made, and new secrets of nature are constantly being unraveled. It seems, however, that humanity has come to a turning point with great ambiguities and bewilderment. Therefore, it is necessary to provide answers to the new problems and realities, and clear and progressive prospects for the development of humanity in general.

A revolution in thinking is truly necessary. This can be achieved not by returning to obsolete concepts, which have served their time, but by looking ahead and firmly making room for the new achievements of science and technology, and of human knowledge in general. To be nostalgic about the past is always ill-advised. Humanity has gone through numerous stages. Enslavement and the feudal system have undoubtedly been important stages in the development of human society, but they have disappeared, and had to disappear. Similarly, capitalism was a new stage in the progress of humanity, but capitalism is already outdated, and sooner or later it will have to disappear and make room for the new society without classes and without oppressors, the socialist society. Socialism, which is a young society, stands for what is new and for the future of humanity. To be genuine revolutionaries, we must look to everything that is new, we must look ahead, and must have full confidence in socialism and communism, which represent the future and the golden dream of all mankind! (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-heroism, Romania-communism!")

It is well known that the whole development of human society is actually the history of the struggle between the old and new, the history of the class struggle, and the history of the struggle for freedom and independence. In this sense, all our political-ideological activities must stress the policy of peace and cooperation of the party and Socialist Romania, and must actively contribute to the proper understanding of the changes taking place in the world, the new trends and prospects, and the future of humanity. We have the necessary forces for this. We have a powerful party and we have party activists who are able to carry out intensive activity in all areas. Everything we have achieved so far proves our party's

capability and strength to understand realities, what is new, and to constantly be a young and revolutionary party, closely linked with the people and working, together with the people and for the people, for socialism and communism, for peace and international cooperation. (prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-peace!")

Esteemed comrades, discussing organizational, ideological, and political-educational problems we must never forget that all our activities must focus on working to fulfill this year's plan and the overall 5-year plan; we must never forget that the results of the party, propaganda, and educational activity must reflect in the way in which party bodies and organizations, all working people, and all our nation are working to ensure the resolute implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions and those of the RCP National Conference.

Special attention must be paid to economic problems, to economic efficiency, and quality, and we must focus on fulfilling the export plan and all the other indicators regarding socioeconomic development.

I would like to mention the need to implement the measures aimed at harvesting summer crops, barley, and wheat on schedule, storing all crops under the best of conditions, and ensuring the proper progress of all the other agricultural activities in general.

Thus, when returning home you must firmly point out to the respective party bodies the need to focus all forces on the activity of implementing the socioeconomic development targets and on applying all organizational, ideological, and political-educational measures. All this must be a uniform whole within the party's activity and in the activity of all state bodies and workers' revolutionary democracy bodies.

In conclusion, once again I would like to stress that our party highly values the activity of our workers' class, the leading political force of the whole nation, which took shape and became a powerful social force, characterized by a high level of technical and general culture.

Our party highly values the activity of the cooperative farmers and of all peasantry and working people in agriculture who, in close unity with the workers' class, constitute an important force in our overall development, in achieving the new agrarian revolution, and in the progress of our whole society in general.

In the years of socialist construction, the intellectuals turned into a powerful social force, playing an active role in the whole work of building the socialist society. Our party highly values not only science and culture, but also the creators of science and culture, the intellectuals, men of science and culture in all areas who are closely linked to the workers' class, to the peasantry, and to all our people. The intellectuals represent a powerful social force which ensures an intensive development of science and culture, and our homeland's elevation to the highest pinnacles of knowledge in all areas. (loud, prolonged applause, cheers)

We will certainly hold the [Central Committee] plenum, we will discuss these problems, but at the end of our meeting I want to mention our party's important role and its concern—and thus the concern of all our people—with developing and perfecting social activity; the role of the workers, the peasantry, the intellectuals, and of all our people—the real builder of socialism and communism and the guarantee of the victory of communism in Romania and of the free and independent future of our homeland! (lively cheers, applause; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!")

In conclusion, I wish all of you, all our party, all working people, and all our people ever greater achievements, fresh successes in all areas, and much good health and happiness! (loud, prolonged cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu and the people!" "Ceausescu-RCP!" "May Romania prosper—long live Ceausescu!" and "Ceausescu-peace!" In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and great unity, all those present in the hall give long-standing ovations to the RCP—the leading political force of the whole nation—and to the party secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.)

New Residential Plans Under Way in Bucharest

AU2706073088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0627 GMT 27 Jun 88

["Planning of New Areas in the Romanian Capital City"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/06/1988—New residential areas are under construction in the western part of Bucharest city, as an integral part of an extensive programme for the planning and modernization of the Romanian capital. One such residential area will be built in the vicinity of the Bucharest-Pitesti motorway, one of the most important thoroughfares running into the city.

The new residential area includes apartment houses boasting modern architectural features. Some of the 672 flats there have already been commissioned this year. They are very comfortable one-to-five-room flats. Shopping centres (including catering and servicing units) will open on the ground floors.

Two large residential areas will be built in the Armata Poporului District (lying in the western part of Bucharest, too) to round off the process of integrally planning that important zone. One of those two residential areas, now under construction, will include 4,500 flats or so. Designers paid special attention to the harmonious and

functional distribution of rooms and annexes, to the creation of parks and protection zones. A modern cinema house for 600 will be built, to add to the area's cultural facilities.

Schemes for the capital's planning—a drive to be concluded in 1990—provide for the construction of more than 40,000 flats this year. They will be erected both in the new residential areas and in zones where construction operations have already got under way, such as the new political and administrative centre, the Vitan and Piata Muncii residential areas, a.o.

GNA Session Resumes; Ceausescu Present

Proceedings, Agenda

AU2906104288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0936 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/6/1988—In the presence of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu the Grand National Assembly of Romania resumed its proceedings in Bucharest in the morning of 29 June.

The agenda of the session includes working people's remuneration, and pension rise bills, the legal statute of socialist units on the basis of the principles of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration, as well as other normative acts.

Romania's Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu read the memorandum of the bill regarding the rise of the working people's pay and of the bill regarding the increase of state social security pensions according to the length of service, of the pensions for incapacitation and war invalids.

General debates started then on the two bills.

The session continues.

Session Ends; Proceedings Reviewed

AU2906161288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1521 GMT 29 Jun 88

["Session of the Grand National Assembly Proceeds"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/6/1988—Attended by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, Wednesday, 29 June, the seventh session of the ninth Grand National Assembly (Romania's parliament) resumed in plenum.

Alongside President Nicolae Ceausescu, present in the official boxes were the members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP and the members of the State Council.

Present in the hall were members of the CC of the RCP, heads of central institutions, mass and public organizations, representatives of the working people, of the Romanian scientific and cultural life.

Present were heads of diplomatic mission accredited in Romania, as well as foreign press correspondents.

The session was opened by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

The agenda included: the validation of the election of some deputies and the relieving of a deputy, the bill on enhancing the pay of the working personnel, the bill on enhancing the state social security pensions for length of service and age, the pensions of people who lost their capacity to work and the pensions of the war disabled, the bill on the legal status of the socialist units according to the principles of workers' self-management and economic-financial self-administration, the bill on passing the decrees carrying norms with legal power, issued by the State Council.

On the first item in the agenda, Nicolae Mihalache, chairman of the Credentials Commission, presented the report on the validation of the election to the Grand National Assembly of deputies Cornel Mihulecea, in the Electoral Constituency No.1 Brasov-Center, Brasov County, and Ion Voiculescu, in the Constituency No.3, Craiova-Craiovita Noua, Dolj County.

Also presented was the proposal made by the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front to relieve deputy Gheorghe Macris, elected to the Constituency No.7 Lupeni, Hunedoara County, for having committed grave offences, against the law and the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

The Grand National Assembly passed unanimously the proposals in the report of the Credentials Commission.

Next, the newly-elected deputies made the vow of faith in and devotion to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Then, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu presented the exposition on the bill on enhancing the remuneration of the working personnel and the bill on enhancing the state social security pensions for length of service and age, the pensions of the people who lost their capacity to work and the pensions of the war disabled. Next, there was presented the report of the GNA Specializing Commissions which looked into and viewed favourably these bills.

After the general debate and the discussions, article by article, of each bill, the Grand National Assembly unanimously passed them by voting.

According to the agenda, next, the Grand National Assembly passed unanimously the bill on the legal status of the socialist units according to the principles of the

workers' self-management and economic-financial self-administration, as well as the bills on passing the decrees carrying norms with legal power issued by the State Council.

The agenda being covered, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, pronounced the seventh session of the ninth assembly closed.

Pay, Pension Increase Beginning 1 Aug

AU2706172888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1624 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/6/1988—A wide-scope action will start in Romania on 1 August 1988 for a higher quality of life: the increase of payments and pensions. It will end before 23 August 1989 being one of such like actions taken on a national scale in the recent five-year periods which leads to a ten percent rise in the incomes of all categories of working people as compared to 1985. In the beginning, over August-October 1988 low remunerations will be heightened so at the minimum one should stand at 2,000 lei a month, an increase which will benefit 2.5 million working people, especially the young ones who are in the first years of activity. In the last three months of this year another 1.8 million people [who were] paid monthly up to 2,250 lei will have their payment raised. Till the end of 1988 nearly 4.3 million people will receive additional incomes worth 5.8 billion lei. In 1989 the action will extend to other categories of personnel with remunerations higher than 2,250 lei so as in 1989 the sums additionally given to the working people stand at 24.4 billion lei.

Monthly payment increase is parallelled by a rise in the pensions for the work done and age limit as well as in the pensions of war invalids. The State Social Security pension for the work done and age limit amounting to 3,000 lei a month at the most will be averagely raised by 8 percent in a differentiated manner as low pensions may rise by 25.2 percent. The average pension of this category will rise from 1,873 to 2,000 lei monthly, while the minimum pension for full length of service will reach 1,100 lei a month (as to 900 lei now). Low pensions for persons with incomplete length of service, with at least ten years of work, will grow from 550 to 800 lei a month. The average pension will rise from 1,079 to 1,160 lei monthly. The pensions for war invalids of up to 3,000 lei will increase 16.9 percent on an average, while the minimum pension of war invalids and of second-grade disabled persons will reach 800 lei. Pensions will rise gradually starting 1 August 1988 and ending on 1 March 1989. This pension increase will benefit 1,352,000 persons, which accounts for 97 percent of the total social security pensioners, adding to which are 17,400 war invalids. The total funds needed for pension increase will stand at 300 million lei in 1988, while at the level of one year at two billion lei.

All these measures which are telling proofs of the Romanian party and state policy of steadily raising the population's welfare find a material support in the development and modernization of the national economic complex. As a matter of fact, the constant rise of average payment which will stand at 3,285 lei in August 1989 (i.e. nine times higher than in 1950) is due to the growth of Romania's economic potential which, expressed in the national income, is 33 times bigger than in 1950.

LCY Central Committee Plenary Session Held

Radonjic Resigns

LD2906130888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—Calling for the operative program of implementing the LCY conference standpoints, due to be adopted at today's LCY Central Committee session, to envisage a prompt "refreshment" of the party leadership by bringing in new and capable communists, Dr Radovan Radonjic informed the Central Committee that he was resigning immediately from his position in the Central Committee. He stressed the importance of personal example and his belief that, as an ordinary LC member, he would be able to do his work better than as member of the top party body. He would like his place to be filled by a Communist capable of carrying out tasks more successfully.

Report Adopted on Slovene Situation

AU2906203988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] The 15th session of the LCY Central Committee concluded in Belgrade some 10 minutes ago. It adopted a report on the situation in the SR of Slovenia and the LC of this republic. Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Milan Kucan, president of the highest organ of the LC of Slovenia spoke. Jovan Doslov and Zoran Vaskovic report on the speeches:

Bosko Krunic first recalled the chronology of the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and the security system. These attacks, Krunic said, had been intensified in the past few months, and they culminated at the time of the visit to Ethiopia by Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense.

Varied reaction by the Presidiums of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia and of the LCY Central Committee followed. There was also varied reaction to the arrest of the actors in the so-called Jansa affair. However, Bosko Krunic stressed at the conclusion of his speech, the latest activities by the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia and other social forces indicate a solution to the said problems.

[Begin Krunic recording] The crisis we have, and the many social difficulties of course make this action more difficult, but the facts that the Slovene people are not against the YPA, that the Army is its achievement, too, that the Central Committee insisted on this and provided a clear platform, provide the guarantee that this situation will be successfully overcome. [end recording]

Having agreed with Bosko Krunic's report, Milan Kucan presented the assessments from the latest session of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia. He particularly stressed:

[Begin Kucan recording] We noted a great degree of similarity between the views of the Conference of the LC of Slovenia and the recent Conference of the LCY in the YPA, which in our assessment is very important and provides the best answer to some theses about the social position of the Army that can be heard in Slovenia. We stressed the task that political space must be opened for the key strategic direction, which is to say the implementation of the conference conclusions, and that political excesses and deviant occurrences that restrict this space should be eliminated. [end recording]

Milan Kucan also stressed that the session of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia resolutely denounced all the attacks on the YPA.

[Begin Kucan recording] We rejected the unacceptable theses that the Army is an occupying army, that these are army units stationed in Slovenia, that they have putschist ambitions. The position on the military coup and lists [of people to be arrested] was clear. We made a clear assessment that the Army is not an organization that should stay behind barracks walls, and so forth. However, the approach was also affirmed that the Army is our army too, that nobody is more responsible for it than we are, that we have the right and the duty to discuss its conceptual and other problems, but this must be done in a way that will protect the Army from attacks, from a tendentious presentation of its problems, from manipulations, and so forth.

We especially distanced ourselves from, and denounced, the attacks on YPA personnel and officers. I would like to say in this connection that they are not as mass-like as might be suspected. I do not underestimate them; the Central Committee also does not underestimate them. I propose that our republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs prepare a report and that you all should receive it. [end recording]

Dusan Dragosavac took part in the discussion. He said that both anti-Slovene and anti-Albanian feelings, and other nationalist feelings are developed in Yugoslavia and that they have assumed serious proportions. He considered that all the parts of our country have failed to react properly and in time. Dragosavac pointed out that we are all responsible for assisting the LC of Slovenia. He also stressed that our working people demand LC unity, and brotherhood and unity, but they also demand a competent leadership.

Concluding the session, Bosko Krunic stressed that the LCY Central Committee supports the positions of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, and he stressed their responsibility in stabilizing the situation.

LCY Presidium Elects President, Secretary

LD2906205288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2028 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—At this evening's session the LCY Central Committee Presidium, held immediately after the plenum of the LCY Central Committee, Dr Stipe Suvar was elected by secret ballot

president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in the next 1-year mandate. The second candidate, Ivica Racan, received fewer votes.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium also elected Stefan Korosev secretary of the LCY CC Presidium by secret ballot, and he will carry out this duty in the next 2-year period, until the 14th LCY Congress.

Kucan Addresses Slovene LC Central Committee

DELO Report

AU2906195488 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Jun 88 p 4

[Report on speech by Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, at the 20th session of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia in Ljubljana on 27 June, by Vlado Slamberger: "Open Scope for All Who Want To Cooperate in Reforms"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 27 Jun— We are obviously facing a new stage of development of the social crisis in Yugoslavia. It has four essential characteristics: an objectively enhanced position of the socialist forces— the socialist self-managing alternative of development strengthened with the LCY Conference and its guidelines, and the LC position has also strengthened; second, implementation of measures that are a condition for economic reform; third, the adoption of the constitutional amendments when the ideological and political clash, manifesting all the divisions of that kind in the present Yugoslav society, has become exacerbated; fourth, a renovation of the LC for which the LCY Conference radically expanded the Yugoslav dimensions, but also displayed two kinds of understanding of the Communists' role—a state party and an LC that steps down from power. This is a concise summary of the opening thoughts expressed by Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, at the 20th session of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia today.

Speaking about the directions of the way out of crisis and about more realistic, socialist self-management, Milan Kucan said:

"The relationships between the political forces in Slovenia have become plain to see. It is now possible to measure and at the same time to demonstrate whether the LC is capable of performing its social leading role, the role of the shaper of a unifying social idea under crisis conditions. Such an approach excludes the state party power-holding type of political thinking, whose yardstick is the question of whether one is in control of the situation. This is an inappropriate question, of course, if it is addressed to the LC and its organs. Another question is posed in the process of establishing the interests and perceiving the social and ideological forces of the renovation of the socialist concept of development: Is a socialist alliance actually arising through the democratic voicing and confrontation of interests? Is a democratic political space created for it? Do the socialist forces joined in it master the situation? And do the Communists affirm themselves through their ideas and actions, and are they recognized as the leading, ideological, and creative unifying and mobilizing force in this alliance, and in the assembly system, and in the public?

The question, Do you control the situation?, is therefore essentially a question of the essence, effectiveness, and influence of the SAWP. This does not mean— it must be said— that the LC will drown in the SAWP. The question is— and the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia must answer it— whether the space has been created, whether a well-argued and responsible political dialogue is conducted, and what, from this aspect, is the meaning of the fact that a number of initiatives and organized gatherings of people occur outside the SAWP, even though they are socialist and progressive, for instance in connection with the Constitution, or regarding the protection of human rights, or protection of the environment, protection of the interests of farmers, and so forth.

What does this mean for an assessment of the work of Communists in the SAWP? It is clear that political life cannot develop only or primarily in the LC, for it is not a party of power. This political life cannot alone be significant and decisive, for that would mean that the LC had a monopoly over political life and socialism. It would indicate that field of differentiation which can be simply rendered as: He who is not with us is against us.

Therefore, we should review as soon as possible the realization of the positions on the SAWP, both ours and those adopted by the LCY Central Committee. A mass movement for socialism, which is in the interest of most people, is possible only in the SAWP. Here we have the opportunity and the need to reject what is not socialist, precisely in the name of this interest for socialism, but also to protect ourselves against bureaucratic, nationalist, and intolerant pressure and intimidation, likewise in the name of this interest in socialism in the SAWP. In this connection it is clear that a different type of political work and different yardsticks for evaluating it are necessary for a way out of the crisis.

This is a process in which social protagonists of various proposals for the way out of the crisis compete in their strength and ability. However, everybody in Slovenia or Yugoslavia does not proceed from socialist principles.

The LC of Slovenia has not always been equally successful in this respect, neither in promoting its own ideas nor in rejecting those that are unacceptable. We have often been late, and still are late, we lack initiative, we correct the mistakes of the past and make new ones. We are not without sin, not even now; but the Conference of the LC of Slovenia is proof that— despite our weakness in successful activities, and especially actions, while

democracy is gaining more and more— we are a force or an actor that offers a development program, a value-based economic, political, and cultural and civilizational [civilizacijski] program that is very acceptable for the most creative forces and that enhanced the legitimacy of the LC of Slovenia and of the LCY. We should preserve this legitimacy, in the same way and with the same means that we have gained it, with the conviction of arguments and with democracy. This, of course, is a matter of our ability, but unfortunately it is the only way.

Aggravated Social Problems [subhead]

Another element of this new situation is the beginning of the implementation of measures that are a condition for economic reform, of measures that the FEC has enforced since the May assembly session with the support of this assembly and with our support. Their content, sense, and goal are known. They are being implemented in a very restricted material space which puts extreme pressure not only on individual factors of the economy, the banks, the communes, the regions, and the republics, but also on every individual. Something that this session of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia cannot avoid is that restructuring and readjustment to the conditions of higher quality economic operations with social property, to the conditions of the market and competition, aggravates the social problems, too. It causes social tensions, and naturally these assume political dimensions. [passage omitted]

TANJUG Transmission

LD2706221488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1301 GMT 27 Jun 88

["Slovene LC Central Committee Plenum: Speech by Milan Kucan"— TANJUG headline; monitored TANJUG transmissions did not carry initial portion of this item, transmission begins with take 5 of a total of 21 TANJUG takes]

[Excerpts] [dateline not received]— This is a process of assessing the strength and capabilities of proponents of various proposals for emerging from the crisis. However, not all of them are acting along socialist lines either in Slovenia or Yugoslavia. In addition, the Slovene LC has not always been equally successful in either promoting its own ideas or rejecting the unacceptable, Kucan said.

Continuing his speech, Kucan spoke about the effects of the May measures, stressing that the adaptation to better management of socially owned means and to market conditions and competition would drastically exacerbate social problems, give rise to social tensions which, naturally, tend to assume political dimensions. Kucan illustrated this by the events in Maribor. In his view, social tensions, conflicts, and pressures will continue in society, and the more consistent and faster the economic reform the more intensified they will be. It is good that we are aware of this, and the Slovene LC Central Committee must reiterate today that it will persevere in consistently implementing the economic reform, not only because the reform is of vital interest for both the Slovene and the Yugoslav economy but also because it provides hope and is essential for the democratization of society. There is no market economy or entrepreneurship without democracy, Kucan stressed.

Speaking about the constitutional amendments, Kucan stressed that a sharp ideological and political conflict had become evident in this respect as a result of differences in present-day Yugoslav society. As revealed by current debate, these differences fall within three groups. The first concerns the nature of production and production relations; the second, the interpretation of the nature of the Yugoslav federation and the fundamental relations within it, while the third concerns the differences in interpreting the idea of political pluralism and democracy. The debate on the nature of democracy is dominated, although not that clearly, by an attempt to present this democracy as democracy against socialism, that is, as violation of the freedom of thought of an individual, of social groups of nations. Events in Slovenia have confirmed that this is that sphere of our activity within society where we have to grapple with spontaneity, with differing concepts, and where we must assume the initiative. These debates, in Kucan's view, have produced outlines of the ideological foundations for a pluralist and not a non-party democracy. Self-management is being neglected. Much more should therefore be done to demonstrate that we Communists will not sit idle and watch this political pluralism, which is an aspect of pluralism of self-managing interests, gaining ground, and that, if it is allowed to be freely articulated, we will assume the initiative and cooperate on an equal footing and openly provide political scope for the democratic confrontation of interests in the organization of associated labor, in local communities, in the Socialist Alliance, political organizations, assemblies, workers' councils, interest-based associations, the public....Our clear commmitment is, of course, that self-management, in other words, the constitutionally established, socialist orientation of society is the main line of demarcation.

Speaking about renewal within the LC, Milan Kucan said that the LCY Conference radically provided scope for developing its Yugoslav dimension. It became evident that within the LCY there are two differing views of the LC's role. One advocates the LC as a state party and the state of the party, while the other reflects powerful attempts to promote the need for the LC to step down from its position of power. [passage omitted]

As regards the theses adopted by our Central Committee, we will not deviate from anyone of the strategic points of the "three reforms" strategy. To deviate would mean to continue living in a society riddled with crisis and with no prospects and, even worse, it would mean returning to the situation which brought about the present crisis. People, however, are not prepared to live under either one or the other of these conditions. This would mean compromising the idea of socialism and communism

among our people. To backtrack or stagnate would, undoubtedly, lead to a catastrophe, to the zero variant which, ultimately, means military communism. This would not only reduce our ambitions to the mere effort to survive but would destroy all that is still vital and creative in our people. We cannot and will not assume this responsiblity, Kucan said.

The conference provided evidence that in the Slovene LC we are capable of making our conceptual contribution and contribution to efforts to mobilize for action to resolve the Yugoslav crisis. A number of our commitments have been accepted by the LCY, Kucan said, adding:

The conference has given us a point of departure for resolving our problems in a situation when those less developed than us will find themselves in more difficult circumstances and will, rightly, expect from us understanding and assistance at the time when we ourselves will not expect or receive it from anyone. However, we rightly expect our views of the ways for tackling economic problems and for changing the economic system and Yugoslavia's economic policy will be observed more than before or, at least, that it will be realized that it is not Slovene egotism that is at issue here but our desire to galvanize those sections of the Yugoslav economy that provide the momentum for development, for extricating us from the crisis. In such circumstances, Kucan said, the great contribution to the reforms in Yugoslavia is implementing the conference theses.

Our and the majority view within the LCY is that the way out of the economic crisis is possible only by intensifying democratic processes, Milan Kucan said. We must persevere in this despite criticism. This would bring liberalism into our political and economic life despite absurd objections to the effect that orientation of this kind will intensify Slovene nationalism and separatism and will destroy Yugoslavia's unity, and even that all this is an attempt by Communists to deceive people in order to remain in power. If perseverance in pursuing these orientations gives rise to conflicts in both Slovenia and Yugoslavia with conservative ideas and aspirations of a dogmatic and bourgeois kind, then such conflicts should be entered into because they will be worthwhile.

Such orientations have so far enriched our lives and minds with too many positive and valuable ideas and developments for us to be prepared to reject or sacrifice them. If we were to do so we would cause a halt in Yugoslavia's development with fatal consequences for both socialism and Yugoslavia itself. However, to persevere along this path requires changes in the work of us Communists.

There can be agreement and unity over this issue in the LC and a large section of the working class. According to Kucan, this was demonstrated by the LCY Conference which, even during the preparation period, accepted many of the Slovene offers and initiatives which we proposed and did not impose, as some of the ideas were at the conference. This conference-adopted orientation has given us scope for differentiation.

This is a real and vital field for differentiation as opposed to those which are not, which were forced upon us, and which are now weighing heavily on us, while threatening to paralyze our essential efforts to extricate us from the crisis and for further socialist development.

These include those fields for differentiation which give priority to confrontation with the Army, federal organs, other nations and nationalities, with the idea of Slovenia being exploited, and so forth. This provides no foundation for alliances, unity, or coexistence. We must therefore clearly and with good arguments confront ideas promoted by Slovene nationalists and in the name of pseudo-vanguard. Neither democracy nor economic reform and the renewal within the LC will succeed in just one part of our federal state.

We Slovenes cannot behave as if we were something special in this federal state and living within a special reserve. We have paid a high price for pursuing such a policy and are now swallowing its bitter pill, Kucan cautioned.

Slovenia can be no special reserve within Yugoslavia but must be allowed to have initiative in it. Its influence should be proportional to its economic strength and development and cultural level. In the light of such a clear-cut position, the federal center, the LCY center, and other republics and provinces should inevitably counter attempts to create an anti-Slovene mood, and persistent efforts to prove that Slovenia is an area of excessive conduct almost on the verge of counterrevolution or even more serious developments likely to destroy Yugoslavia.

We Slovene Communists have the duty to reject such views which run counter to the facts and the truth, Kucan said. The views which we witness are offensive and justify the calls for reexamining their motives put forward by a section of the Yugoslav press in a real witchhunt-style campaign and concentrated pressures.

Such pressures, arising from insufficiently founded facts and arbitrary assessments, are causing among less critical minds a nationalist reaction, as stated by the Ljubljana University Committee which, in turn, is used as evidence of nationalism in developments directed against democracy. Articles which mainain that democratization in Slovenia is a nationalist trick reflect such views and not justified and understandable concern. After all, we all live in a common state and must therefore bear responsibilities jointly. Such irrational accusations and discussions only serve to exacerbate the conflict at a time when the Slovene and probably the Yugoslav public started to believe that we are entering a lengthy period of rational search for the ways out of the crisis.

Continuing his speech, Kucan spoke of the need for clear and firm dissociation from some developments and processes in Slovenia. He said this is in order to protect the fundamental and vital orientations of the conference; otherwise we will create a very confusing political atmosphere in which we will lose our real allies and sympathizers in both Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Instead we will attract those we do not want and who want to use us to gain their political legitimacy. A social climate which is not good, stimulating, or creative but which is undemocratic and irresponsible will continue. I am convinced, Kucan added, that it is in the interests not only of us Communists but of the majority of our people that the present situation is overcome in order to safeguard the path of democratic socialist development, to promote the elements of cultured and civilized dialogue in public life on common issues, and to prevent spiritual and physical violence.

In this context Milan Kucan referred to the outcome of the strike in Maribor in which several dozen people, even after the strike ended and the workers were allowed to express their demands, caused an incident and called on others to join them in blocking traffic and take other steps. These had nothing to do with the problems that caused the strike. Here he also included a hooligan march on the barracks in Metelkova Street in Ljubljana following a cultural rally. This violence has nothing in common with the motives of the majority of people who took part in these events and only serves to demonstrate that these were attempts, on the part of those who were behind these two incidents, at flagrant political abuse and at compromising such rallies by provocations directed against socialist democracy, socialism, and self-management. It is our duty to take note of and denounce such acts and to oppose them by using all political and legal means available to protect socialist democracy. Otherwise we will have a situation where anarchy and violence will prevail and social problems and tensions will be settled in the street, Kucan said.

It is clear that political life cannot be directed by means of violence and provocations. However, this can cause anarchy and break up democracy, Kucan said, warning that provocations are not good for sober and responsible consideration, for wise decisions and action. In this connection Kucan was thinking of wild behavior, acting without responsibility, attacks on people's dignity, gossip, half-truths, and so forth. We must clearly dissociate ourselves from irresponsible actions, regardless of whether they come from those to whom socialism is a thorn in the side or from those who believe that it is possible to drive people into socialism by beating them. We must find the strength to point to certain errors which have nothing in common with democracy or culture or that which is positive in the tradition of the liberation front of the Slovene nation. Policy cannot in fact always be constructed with a consensus of all people, because some simply do not want this consensus. It is not accidental, in Kucan's opinion, that the same circle of people is involved in both events, a circle which is trying to radicalize to an extreme extent current political events, and which is trying to push the committee for the protection of human rights into extreme actions, far removed from its fundamental tasks. We should ask ourselves where are the roots of this antisocialist and anticommunist indoctrination which we have maybe underestimated to date to a certain extent. Isn't this indoctrination in the ideas which have also gained clear expression in the political life of Slovenia—to the effect that socialism and democracy are not compatible; to the effect that socialist ideas in the world and in Yugoslavia are undeveloped, that, as NOVA REVIJA writes, they are dead, they are historically outmoded; that the party cannot shed its Bolshevik skin, and this is why it is antinational; that the system is worthless, incompetent and not legitimate, and this is why it should be compromised thoroughly?

The fact is that in Slovenia there are people who do not want socialism, and who want communism even less, and they are openly writing this, Kucan said, stressing that the communist response to their thoughts and actions is weak, unorganized, random, and limited to forums.

For this reason, or precisely for this reason, we must most resolutely condemn incidents and attacks on members of the Yugoslav People's Army and nationalist intolerance toward members of other nations and nationalities, which is in no way the general characteristic of life in Slovenia. This does not mean that social problems should not be solved, that we should turn our attention from them, but rather that they should be resolved in a reasonable, legitimate, civilized and democratic way. Random behavior and pressure will not solve individual social problems, nor is this the way to guarantee success of reforms in Slovenia or anywhere else in Yugoslavia. For this reason room must be created in these reform processes for all those who wish to take part. The criteria for this alliance should be work, decisions, and activity.

Kucan in fact considers that in action nationalists, proponents of dogmatism and bureaucracy, antisocialists, and anticommunists will be recognized and detected. The worst thing, in fact, for any poliitical identification and association is for there to be no action. It is in action that the people who are gambling with the democratic achievements of socialist development to date will be isolated. Democratization and democracy are an integral part of the overall approach, and there is no reason why in the current situation too, we should depart from this. However, in Kucan's opinion, whoever wishes to take part in these democratic processes must also take full responsibility.

Kucan considers that the media, too, journalists, editors, and social organs must take their full share of responsibility. They undoubtedly have a great influence on the formulation of public opinion, and it is their responsibility that the information which forms the basis of that

opinion should be objective. Kucan cited as an example the manipulation which Belgrade television had allowed itself with regard to the cultural meeting in Ljubljana. In Kucan's view this manipulation provided the basis for many political reactions and protests, in particular for judgments about Slovenia, about its political life, and about the event itself, its organizers, and its aims. We should also consider when and why the Slovene public is the victim of similar manipulations by way of information in the Slovene press, or even the press of other republics which is widely read in Slovenia.

Whoever writes in an unobjective and irrational way, inflaming political passions and succumbing to them, should not publish or edit. I am not talking about an uncritical, opportunistic, nonindependent, and dictated relationship between the press and politics, although such relationships can be found in Yugoslavia, but rather about a creative, mutual relationship and responsibility, said Kucan.

Kucan went on to say that an integral part of this was the setting of limits in relation to attacks on the Army. It is one thing to have legitimate and creative discussions linked with the concept of all peoples' defense and the YPA, from the point of view that the YPA is our Army. These discussions, in Kucan's assessment, are vital and necessary, just as they are with regard to every other area of our society at a time when it is being restructured. These discussions should be led in such a way that they will develop among the public and in institutions on the level of a cultural discussion, with arguments that will protect the Army from hostile attacks that wish to diminish the defense capablity of our country, arguments that will protect it from tendentiousness, that will not undervalue or keep silent about achievements in the YPA, and that will not overlook the great problems that it faces.

In these discussions a contribution to finding a successful way out of the crisis should not be left out, and neither should there be attempts to misuse or make generalizations about individual successes. In short, the discussion on the YPA should be conducted in such a way that it is not removed from the general context of the Yugoslav social situation. These issues were also discussed at the recent conference of the LC organization in the YPA, and I think that we could agree with the conclusions that were reached, said Kucan, stressing that this productive debate on conceptual issues had begun several years ago, and what is more, within the Slovene Federation of Socialist Youth. This, however, is somewhat different to attacks on the Army, hostile articles and pamphlets about it, such as have been published in MLADINA and NOVA REVIJA, expressing the idea that it is an Army of occupation, an Army that is stationed in Slovenia, that the Army should stay inside the walls of its barracks, which means that officers should be excluded from social and political life, and so on.

We must responsibly set ourselves apart from these ideas and reject them, said Kucan, particularly since they are creating an atmosphere in which intolerance could develop toward the Army and its members and in which conflicts could arise between the Army and Slovenes, which has never before happened. On the contrary, the relationship and cooperation has been excellent, since they were founded on the knowledge that this Army is the successor to the Slovene partisan army. An area could be opened up for great political manipulation, whose victims would be the Army and Slovene people, and the young men who are doing military service, warned Kucan. We should agree with the opinion expressed at the Army's party conference, according to which the best reply to attempts at creating a division between the Army and the Slovene people, is to intensify that cooperation. We should, however, establish by analysis the nature of the ideopolitical basis of destructive ideas about the Army in the context of similar anti-Yugoslav and antisocialist ideas generally. Because it is clear that the federal character in Yugosalvia as well as its socialist self-managing content is being contested.

This excessive conflict should be removed from our life as soon as possible so that we can preserve the room, the right, and the responsibility for a normal creative discussion on both the fundamental and conceptual issues relating to the YPA. Neither we nor the Army can escape from this, said Kucan, stressing that we should adopt a similar stance in connection with the internal affairs and judicial organs. State organs, in general, and particularly organs for the repression of crime, cannot in advance demand a prior and uncritical trust from the people. For this reason those organs must earn it, like us. And they must do this in every individual case, through their behavior, by conscientiously establishing the truth about the actions and the guilt of the accused, and through their just and humane approach in selecting and assessing the punishment. The current pressures on the investigative organs, if they are truly an expression of concern for the protection of human rights and freedoms, which cannot be fundamentally doubted, can be understood simply as a call for the respecting of all legal guarantees which protect the right of each individual during criminal proceedings, including the right of the accused to choose his own defense lawyer, and the ability to maintain contacts with his family. Anything else would be an impermissible pressure on the independence of the court in a specific case, said Kucan.

The Slovene Central Committee Presidium adopted a statement on the case of Borstner, Jansa, and Tasic to which, said Kucan, there is nothing to add. I am convinced, he continued, that a rapid conclusion of the proceedings would make this situation clearer, and I believe that maintaining this tension for more than a month does not serve anyone or anything, least of all the truth, and I believe that no one who thinks reasonably would wish this. Similarly, Kucan is convinced that accurate and timely information would decrease tensions and diminish the extremely broad scope that exists

for political manipulation. The truth is the best weapon against manipulation, plotting, and lies, and a lesson should also be learned from this for political work, and this, in part, affects me too, said Kucan.

The shorthand notes, a copy of which is circulating in Ljubljana despite my wishes, are a part of my discussion at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Now I am accused of having betrayed a secret, even of having done this on purpose. In connection with this I have been asked and called on by some members of that Central Committee to explain things. I must talk about what was in question, emphasized Kucan, because only this will serve as a weapon against manipulations and plotting to the effect that a military coup was being prepared in Slovenia and even that some sort of list had been drawn up. This is an untruth and a complete invention, said Kucan. Something more should be said about this since the events which were being discussed are evidently the cause of the atmosphere of a state of emergency and concern. This began to be created with the publication of some provocative articles about the Army with hostile content and messages, and then with the publicly published assessments made at a session of the military council of the danger of activities of counterrevolutionary intent and with the character of special warfare in Slovenia. This culminated in the present arrests, and the whole situation has resulted in a general lack of confidence and concern among the public for the fate of constitutionality and legality, for the process of democratization and the orientations for reform which were adopted at LC Conferences. The public will not calm down without the truth and the truth should be stated regardless of how absurd those rumors are, and it should be stated, of course, above all by the most authoritative and most responsible organs. In this respect a simple denial is not sufficient, stressed Kucan.

Milan Kucan also spoke of the assessments being made in other parts of Yugoslavia about Slovenia and the situation there. Some assessments, in Kucan's opinion, are extremely dramatic. There is even talk of counterrevolution, and I am not sure whether those who are talking about this are aware of all the consequences. Generally speaking, said Kucan, that word is used too easily.

Mentioning again the presentation of the meeting by Belgrade television, Kucan said that this appalled even those people who publicly expressed sympathy toward the democratic processes in Slovenia and who hoped that these processes would become dominant and constant in Yugoslavia as a whole. How was it possible that the majority of those present on Liberation Front Square [osvobodilna fronta] including Communists had assessed the gathering as being cultural and dignified, whilst others from afar, through reported information, had assessed it as being a counterrevolution, an escalation of nationalism, a mass movement demonstration? They are now prepared to assess the Slovene party leadership and the leadership in general according to whether or not it accepts their view of the truth as its own assessment, and if we do not we will be politically suspect and untrustworthy. Who is imposing such a false dilemma on us, wondered Kucan. Does someone really want to create a quarrel between us and the majority of our people and with the whole of Yugoslavia? It is not as if it is possible in other parts of the country to enjoy the people's confidence, if your own people and their working class withdraw their confidence and legitimacy. Whom would such a puppet-like position serve and who would accept it? One cannot in fact prevent oneself from thinking that some people are not indignant and justifiably angry because of attacks on the Army, but that what they are troubled by are the processes of reform and their content in Slovenia, in particular the processes within the Slovene LC, said Kucan. Our calls, which have not always been successful, for the Socialist Alliance to become a mass social movement for socialism, have been designated as a mass movement [maspok] the same as or worse than the one in Croatia in 1971. Of course, we need a mass movement of people, but for reforms. This, in fact, is where we need support, not the support of individuals, of leaderships, of national leaders, or the support of speeches and words. Our calls for understanding for new movements, particularly youth movements, are used as a reason for assessing our LC as being suspiciously social democratic, while calls for discussions on all socially relevant issues, including human rights, in the assemblies and not just in the LC, are seen as opportunism, swimming with the current defeatism. Semantic differences are sought between "socialism suited to people" and "suited to the working class", between the renewal and the transformation of the LC instead of establishing whether or not unity exists with respect to the processes which should enable the withdrawal of the LC from power, the realization of the role of the Socialist Alliance, of the Assembly, of the delegate system among the masses, among the people.

I believe that it should be said, and that it is possible to say clearly, that in Slovenia there is no counterrevolution, nor is there a mass nationalist movement against Yugoslavia and for secession, Kucan said.

From all that I have said, of course, it does not follow that in the political action being waged by Communists in Slovena we do not make mistakes, and this includes the Central Committee and the Presidium. I am convinced that it would be an ever greater and more serious mistake to change the basic direction which we have adopted, although the temptations to retreat are great and the result of the processes which have been set in motion is uncertain. This leadership cannot withdraw from this path, Kucan said. It gained support for this at the conference. But it can, however, as a leadership remove itself. In assessing existing circumstances the Central Committee today must know this.

The Central Committee today should reach some answers or at least it should agree on how to arrive at them—answers as to whether the Central Committee

Presidium acted correctly in its activities relating to problems with regard to the Army, including the attacks on the Army, and the statement on the current situation. Is the situation being faced today by the Communists in the LC a random force, special warfare, counterrevolution, a mass movement, or separatism? Or is it a serious and patient process of estabishing a new consensus for social development and the adequate continuation of the renewal of the political system of socialist self-management based on the conference (?theses) in which there are mistakes, lost initiatives, and insufficiently convincing arguments?

Has the LC lost the initiative, is it simply following at the tail end of events, closing its eyes to anticommunism and attacks on the Army, flirting with nationalist euphoria and attempts at national hegemony at the expense of the federation and the Yugoslav People's Army?

Is the LC becoming social democratic and preparing to legalize factional activities, or is it in fact renewing itself, encountering problems, making errors and facing trials in the process, withdrawing from power in favor of the organized self-liberation of workers?

Is this organized self-liberation really an illusion, a phantom behind which there appears an anticommunism which people accept? Has the judicial system in Slovenia really broken down, and what is the position and the attitude of the young in all this? I have said nothing about this. This is too serious an issue to be the subject of improvisations, Kucan said.

Today, above all, you must answer the question which is the primary and key one and which is the question above all questions: In the view of the Central Committee are we at all capable of emerging from the crisis along a democratic path, by applying democratic—that is, self-managing—means, by pooling our creative forces, our labor and knowledge for the realization of the orientations of the conferences, even with disagreements in this realization?

During these talks I have tried to give answers to those questions, as they are seen by the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium. Or should, in fact, the Central Committee make the assessment that this is not possible, and that the way should be opened for affirming only the party in power, of course without those people, like ourselves, who have been building what in that case would clearly have been a utopian strategy for the renewal of society of socialist self-management and of the LC. This is what we are preoccupied with today and this is our task, Milan Kucan said.